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PLURAL SUFFIXES IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

M. MARIAPPA BHAT, M. A., L. T.,

Head of the Kannada Department, University of Madras

What is the history of pluralisation in the Dravidian languages? In those ancient languages, today, we find innumerable pluralising particles which on careful observation tend to show a unity in diversity and thereby throw some light on this grammatical point in the Primitive Dravidian tongue.

To many it may sound strange when we state that at one stage in the history of the Dravidian languages—in those bygone ages—there did not exist in the language any pluralising suffix. To some extent even as in the Malayalam of today where the gender of the verb is being understood by the context and not by the verbal terminations, so in the Primitive Dravidian languages, number was being understood by the context. This point has been hinted at by the eminent philologist Dr. Caldwell who says, 'The poets and the peasants, the most faithful guardians of antique forms of speech rarely pluralise the neuter and are fond of using the singular noun in an indefinite singular-plural sense, without specification of number, except in so far as it is expressed by the context. Hence they will rather say "nālu māḍu mēygiradu" (literally four ox is feeding) than "nālu māḍugaḷ mēygindrana" (four oxen are feeding) which would sound stiff and pedantic.' Dr. Caldwell has pointed out this as an example to show that they rarely pluralise the neuter. What Dr. Caldwell says regarding neuter plurals in Tamil holds good in the case of other Dravidian languages. But can we go a step further and quoting from Tuḷu, one of the ancient languages in the Dravidian group, state that pluralising was unknown even with the masculine-feminine or highcaste nouns? Therein it is more idiomatic to say "patt āḷu benpuṇḍu" (literally ten person is working) than, say, "patt āḷu (ku) ḷu benper" (ten persons are working). It is quite probable that the other languages of the family during their progress invented those subtle distinctions of number etc., and dropped out of use the primitive way while Tulu, the uncultivated language of the group has retained the

old usages too. Hence, we may go further than Caldwell and say that the number of all Dravidian nouns whether high-caste or casteless was originally indefinite. The singular, the primitive condition of every noun, was then the only number which was or could be recognised by nominal or verbal inflexion and plurality was left to be inferred by the context.

So, with this evidence before us, we may safely conclude with what Dr. Caldwell hinted at that as civilisation made progress, the plural made its appearance and effected a permanent settlement in the department of high-caste or masculine-feminine nouns, while the number of casteless or neuter nouns, whether suffixes of plurality were used or not, still remained generally unrecognised by the verb in the Dravidian languages.

The various plural suffixes in the Dravidian Languages

Let us take into consideration the multifarious plural suffixes in some of the important Dravidian languages and try to trace their historical growth and ramifications:—

Pluralising suffixes	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	Telugu	Tulu
'm'	nām (we) nīm (you. pl.)	yām, nām, nīr, nīvir, niyir.	nānnal nām ninnal nom	mēmu mīru	namo īr
'ar'	avar (they) arasar (kings) bandar (have come)	avar	avar araśar	vāru rājulu	
'ār'	bandār (Inscriptions)	vandār		vaccināru	
'mar'		Pillai-mar	Kaḷḷan-mar		
'mār'		Pillai-mār (Pillais).	Kaḷḷan-mār (Thieves)		
'ōr'	Kōṭṭōr (Donors) (Inscriptions)	Koḍuttōr	Koduttōr		
'ir'	Peṇḍir (wives)	Peṇḍir	vannir	vacciri	
'vir'	Tāyvir (mothers)	Tāymir			
'dir'	Appandir (fathers)	Ayyandir			
'kaḻ'	Tandegaḷ (fathers)	Tandegaḷ	Nārigaḻ	purushulu	Akuḷu (they)
'lu'	Bandāḻo (They came) (dialect).			purushulu	Ponnuḷu (ladies)

Pluralising suffixes	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	Telugu	Tulu
'ko'	Makko (Children) āḷugo (servants)	(dialect)			
'a' or 'avu'	avu (they-neuter) Piriyavu (big ones).	avai (they, neuter)	ava (they)	avi (they)	avu (it and they).

From the foregoing tables we see that when reduced to the simplest, there are four pluralising suffixes (1) 'm', (2) 'ar', with all its ramifications, (3) 'kaḷ', with its superb guises and (4) 'a' or 'avu'. Today it is rather hard to trace any semblance among these four suffixes and state at what period in the history of the Dravidian languages these developments took place.

The very ancient suffix 'm' is used in almost all the Dravidian languages for pluralising the first and the second personal pronouns. However in the case of Tamil, Telugu and Tulu, for the second person plural, 'nir' 'mīru' and 'īr' are used. As is natural, this must have been in vogue long before the third personal pronouns began to be pluralised and the gender idea got settled.

Between 'ar' and 'kaḷ', it is extremely difficult to choose which of the two is more ancient. In spite of the earliest grammarian of Tamil, Tolkāppiyar, having mentioned 'kaḷ' as the plural suffix confined to neuter nouns, we have instances in early inscriptions, where 'kaḷ' was used as an epicene plural suffix and it is quite probable that long before the gender idea got settled on the people, if at all there was a plural number idea, it may not be wrong to assume that at some time, in the dim beginnings of our languages, one common particle was being used, if at an earlier time no such distinction was made and the number was indefinite.

I am inclined to think that what has been dubbed as the neuter plural suffix, namely, 'kaḷ' or 'a' or 'avu' must be primitive and the common suffix for the following reasons :

(1) Though 'ar' may be restricted to the epicene group, 'kaḷ' is used for all the neuter as well as many a high-caste noun, which fact proves the universal applicability and greater hold of 'kaḷ' over the language than 'ar' which must be a later

importation or derivation to fulfil a particular need. In fact 'kaḷ' may be used to pluralise all nouns.

(2) Telugu, one of the important members of the Dravidian group, employs 'lu', a guise of 'kaḷ' for epicene plurals.

(3) In Malayalam, the plural form of the second person is ninnal and there is no other form for the same. Since first and second person plurals must be more ancient and Malayalam has retained many primitive forms of speech, 'kaḷ' may be a high class plural suffix.

4. In some of the pluralised forms of the high-caste nouns like 'makkaḷ', 'peṇgaḷ,' 'āṇulu', 'gurugaḷ', 'aḍigaḷ', the suffiix 'ar' is almost unknown.

The hold of 'kaḷ' over the language must have been so great that due to sheer forces of habit for ages people must have felt that the pluralising was incomplete—a kind of void—without the affixation of 'kaḷ' which alone they thought was the real pluralising particle. Hence, the double plurals and honorific plurals, 'dēvarkaḷ', 'avargaḷ', etc.

5. In some of the old dialects which can be expected to retain several of the old constructions of grammar, we come across the epicene plurals of the form 'āḷugo,, 'ācārigo', 'Bhaṭṭakko' (retaining only the 'k' portion of 'kaḷ'). The first and second person plurals are 'engo' and 'ningo' (no "m" suffix at all).

6. In some of the dialects the epicene plural verb is 'bandalo' (they have come) 'uṇḍalo' (they have eaten); 'lo' is the plural suffix, 'k' having been dropped.

7. In some of the ancient dialects, 'avu' is used for the epicene third personal pronoun in the place of 'avar' with the least feeling of indecency or inconvenience. Avu ibbaṟ battavu (They two-persons-are coming).

Thus, there must have been a time in the history of the language, when 'avu' the neuter plural suffix was used for the epicene plurals and that practice is retained to this day in some of the dialects, as instanced above.

As civilisation advanced, and the gender idea got infixed, 'ar' must have forced itself on the high-caste nouns and effected a permanent setttlement therein; 'ar' with its multifarious alternative forms such as 'ar', 'ir', 'Ir', 'vir', 'bar', 'dir', 'or', etc., has been able to preserve its high caste

in not allowing itself to be appended to neuter nouns. But it is interesting to note that 'ar' has not been successful in keeping 'kaḷ' and its retinue out of bounds. There must have been a confusion regarding the use of these suffixes. Grammarians, like the author of Tolkāppiyam, must have felt the necessity for drawing a line between the pluralising suffixes of the high-caste and neuter nouns and given the verdict that 'kaḷ' be confined to neuter plurals, and 'ar' forms to the high-caste plurals. But no grammarians' legislation could check the influence of the old 'kaḷ'. We find 'ar' forms employed for pluralising the epicene in all the early literatures and inscriptions and it is interesting to note that 'r' is an essential particle of the pluralising suffix. Doctor Caldwell is of opinion that 'r' was always preceded by a vowel and due to vowel harmony in particular situations and the genius of each dialect, it assumed these various forms, but always retained the 'r'.

In certain cases 'a', 'ar', 'avar' and in the pluarls like 'bandavar', the 'va' is dropped and there was an elongation resulting in 'bandōr' ('ōr' suffix). Perhaps during the time of Kesiraja (reputed Kannada Grammarian of the 13th century) 'ōr' suffix fell into disuse. The 'ar' and 'ir' suffix in combination earned the augments 'b', 'v', 'ar', ('enbar', 'tāyvir', 'etc.') which later on came to be separated and used independently as plural particles such as 'dir', 'vir', 'bar', 'mar', 'mār', etc.

Perhaps in the universal suffix 'kaḷ', 'k'may be an augment particle in the case of certain words, which later on became part and parcel of the suffix on separation.

A NOTE ON THE NAṀPALI GRANT OF YUVARĀJA RAJENDRAVARMA-GAṄGA YEAR 314

BY

G. RAMADAS, *Jeypore*

While looking into the old Epigraphical Reports of Madras, I saw in the Report for 1934-35, App. A. No. 21 that this charter was edited in the Journal of Oriental Research by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Avl., M. A. (JOR. IX. 1935. pp. 59—63). I requested him to send me a copy of his article, if he had one with him. I owe him many thanks for readily complying with my request. I request him to excuse me if I make bold to write below my notes on the above mentioned Gaṅga document.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE DONOR :—Yuvarāja Rājendravarma, the son of Mahārāja Anantavarma is said by the Professor to be a "Yuvarāja by the side of a ruling sovereign." The Superintendent of Epigraphy, by entering the name of Anantavarma in the col. King (op. cit.), appears to hold the same opinion. Let us examine this with reference to the Gaṅga copper plates dated in the early decades of the fourth century of the Gaṅga era.

1. THE ALAMAṆḌA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA (E. I. Vol. III. p. 18*f*) say that Anantavarma, son of Rājendravarma, granted a land in the Gaṅga year 304.

2. The Indian Museum plates of Devendravarma (E.I. Vol. XXIII. No. 12) say that Devendravarma, son of Rājendravarma, granted a land in the Gaṅga year 308.

3. The Tekkali plates of Devendravarma (E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 312 *ff*) say that Devendravarma son of Rājendravarma granted land in the Gaṅga year 310.

From these records it can be observed that both Anantavarma (No. 1) and Devendravarma (Nos. 2 and 3) were the sons of Rājendravarma; and that the former was ruling in Gaṅga year 304 and the latter, in Gaṅga year 308 and 310. Devendravarma certainly succeeded his elder brother, Anantavarma who died before the Gaṅga year 308. Since the Nāmpili plates of Yuvarāja Rājendravarma are dated in the Gaṅga

year 314, this Rājendravarma, though the son of Anantavarma, the elder brother of the reigning sovereign Devendravarma was the Yuvarāja during the reign of his uncle. He might have been very young when his father Anantavarma died. As Maharāja, he issued the Mandasa plates (M.E.R. 1917-18 App. A. no. 13 & p. 137).

In the Gaṅga family it appears to be a custom to nominate a Yuvarāja, a successor to the Government. The Vizagapatam plates of Choḍagaṅgadeva, Śaka Śaṁvat 1040 (I.A. Vol. XIII. no. 179) tell us that Kāmārṇava invested his brother, Dānārṇava, with a necklace. Professor Bülher suggested, the necklace seems to have been a sign of the dignity of a *Yuvarāja* (I.A. Vol. VI. p. 70 note & Vol. XI. p. 161, note 27). The present gives an epigraphical proof of the custom of creating a *Yuvarāja* that had been in vogue in the Gaṅga dynasty. This Rājendravarma, who was the *Yuvarāja* in the time of his uncle, Devendravarma, was the same as the Mahārāja Rājendravarma, son of Anantavarma who gave the grant recorded in the Mandasa plates of Gaṅga Year 342 (M.E.R., 1917-18 App. A. no. 13 & p. 137). The geneology of these three Kings is shown in the table appended herewith.

THE PLACE NAMES:—The Professor read the name of the *Vishaya* as *Nidijēru*. In the Epigraphical Report it is read as Niriñjēvuru. On careful examintion of the letters in the facsimile, I found the third letter is *ñje-* c.f. *mañjī* and *Puñja* in l. 8. With regard to the second letter, I am sure, it is not *da* c.f. *da* in *dayā-dāna* in l. 10. In the inscriptions on the pillars and walls of the temple in Nārāyaṇapuram in the Bobbili taluk, the *liṅga* in the temple is named *Nitīśvara* of Niriñjevuru (M.E.R. 1926, App. B. Nos. 638-692). The inscription No. 644 states that a gift made in Śaka 869 (A.D. 9. 47) was renewed in Śaka 1066 (A.D. 1144). The god, in some inscriptions, is said to be Nitīśvara of Nāvapalli. The name Nārāyaṇapuram (the present name) is mentioned in only one epigraph (no. 672) dated in the cyclic year *Vikriti, māgha ba Thursday*. The old name of the village was Navapali (Nāmpali is a modified form) and the country around it was Niriñjēru (*Nidiñjēru* of the plates).

The temple here shows many features of antiquity. As stated in the inscription No. 644, the temple must have been very popular in the year 947. It is one of the three structures still standing to proclaim to the world that Kaliṅga had

developed its own art and architecture. So long ago as 1925, I read a paper in the Kalinga Conference held at Mukha. lingam—a paper in Telugu on Kalinga Art. It is published in the *Kalingadeśa Charita*, pp. 345 ff. under the caption *Kaliṅga-śilpamu.* The ruins of a mud fort exist to the south of the temple. From the present charter we learn that the village of Nārāyaṇapuram existed in those old forgotten days as Navapili or Nāṁpili.

The Date:—The Professor said, 'the initial year of the Gaṅga era is generally taken to be 485-6 A.D. and cites the Indian Antiquary, 1933, p. 237 for his authority. The scholars that have edited the grants of Gaṅga kings did not mention this year at all. Perhaps the Professor is not aware of the criticism of this conclusion in J.B.O.R.S. Vol. IX, under the caption 'the *Initial Date of the Gaṅga Era*'. R.N. Ghoshal in editing a copper plate in E.I. Vol. XXV, No. 20 says, 'the epoch of the era (Gaṅga) being still unsettled, it is hazardous to attempt at any sure estimation of its correct age."

So it cannot be accepted that the present plates belong to A.D. 809-10 as estimated by the Professor.

Geneology of the Gaṅga Kings of the 4th century of their era.

Rājendravarma

Anantavarma
G.E. 304 (E.I., Vol. III, p. 18 f.)

Rājendravarma
G.E. 314 Yuvarāja (above)
G.E. 342 Mahārāja (M.E.R. 1917-18 App. No. 13, p. 137)

Devendravarma
G.E. 308 (E.I., Vol. XXIII, No. 12)
G.E. 310 (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 312 f.)

A NOTE ON THE PĀGUṆĀRA VIṢAYA

BY

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Pāguṇāra was one of the very ancient districts of the Andhra country. This territorial division finds mention, for the first time, in the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates[1] of Pṛithivī Mahārāja, which are tentatively ascribed to the seventh century of the Christian era. The donor Pṛithivī Mahārāja grants the village of Tāṇḍivāḍa in the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya as an agrahāra to a number of Brāhmans. Many Eastern Cāḷukya kings of the Andhra country gave grants of villages to Brāhmans in this territorial division. The earliest of such kings was Sarvalōkāśraya alias Maṅgi Yuvarāja, son of Viṣṇuvardhana II. The village he granted was Boṇḍāḍanorṭi[2], which is identical with the present village of Boṇḍāḍa in the Bhimavaram taluk, West Godavari district. The villages Permañjili[3], Dinakāḍu[4], Diggumbarṟu[5], Tāṇḍēru[6] and Prāndoṟu granted to Brāhmans by Viṣṇuvardhana III, son of Maṅgi Yuvarāja, Vijayāditya I, son of Viṣṇuvardhana III, Cāḷukya Bhīma II, grandson of Cāḷukya Bhīma I and by Ammarāja II Vijayāditya, son of Cāḷukya Bhīma II respectively, were all situated in the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya.

Inscriptions both lithic and copper-plate of the early mediaeval period, reveal to us some more villages belonging to the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya which was also mentioned as Pāvunāra, Pāguṇavāra, Pāvunavāra, Pāvanavāra and Pānāra in the inscriptions of the twelfth century A. D. According to these records Taṇuku[7], Meṭṭa-Gumalūru[8], Duttika[9] and Kōṇḍēru[10] all belong to this district.

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1. J. O. R., Vol. IX, pp. 188 ff.
2. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, p. 215 ff.
3. C. P., No. 6 of 1913-14.
4. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. V. pp.
5. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff.
6. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 131 ff.
7. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1298.
8. Ibid. Vol. V. No. 75.
9. Ibid. Vol. VI, No. 148.
10. Ep. Coll., Nos. 734, 736 and 744 of 1920.

The villages cited as boundaries in the copper-plate records of the agrahāras in the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya granted to Brāhmans by kings of yore, may also be generally taken to have belonged to the same territorial division. If this proposition is accepted, we come to know of some more villages which lay in this Viṣaya in ancient times. Bētipūṇḍi and Rāvipaṟṟu were cited as boundaries to the village of Tāṇḍēru. The Śrīraṅgam plates[1] of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṟukoṇḍa register the grant of the village of Koṭṭāḷḷapaṟṟu to God Śrīraṅganātha in Śaka 1280. This village is stated to have been situated in the Pānāra country. The villages cited as its boundaries are Māṟēḍēṟu, Naṅgipūḍi, Penukoṇḍa, Ceṟakuvāḍa, Monaṁbaṟṟu, Tāmaravāḍa, Villūru, Asaṇṭa and Dēva. All these villages exist now and can be easily identified.

All the villages belonging to this territorial division which are known to us from copper-plate and lithic records are given below in a tabular form with their ancient names and their modern equivalents.

Ancient name of the village.	Its modern name.	Taluk and district in which it is at present situated.	
Permañjili	Penumanchili	Narasapuram	West Godavary
Krāñja	Kaja	,,	,,
Moṭṭapaṟiti	Mattaparru	,,	,,
Diggumbaṟṟu	Digumarru	,,	,,
Meṭṭa Gumalūru	Gummaluru	,,	,,
Rāvipaṟṟu	Ravipadu (?)	,,	,,
Kōṇḍēru	Koderu	,,	,,
Villūru	Villuru	,,	,,
Asaṇṭa	Atchanta	,,	,,
Dēva	Deva	,,	,,
Prāndoṟu	Panduvva (?)	Bhimavaram	,,
Boṇḍāḍanoṟti	Bondada	,,	,,
Bētipūḍi	Betapudi	,,	,,
Tāṇḍēru	Taderu	,,	,,
Rākhataram	Rakuduru	,,	,,
Tanuku	Tanuku	Tanuku	,,
Koṭṭāḷḷapaṟṟu	Kothalaparru	,,	,,
Māṟēḍēṟu	Maruteru	,,	,,
Naṅgipūḍi	Neggipudi	,,	,,
Penukoṇḍa	Penugonda	,,	,,
Ceṟakuvāḍa	Cherukuvada	,,	,,
Monaṁbaṟṟu	Munamarru	,,	,,
Tāmaravāḍa	Tamarada	,,	,,
Duttika	Juttiga	,,	,,

The above table shows that the ancient territorial division of Pāguṇāra comprised the modern taluks of Narasapuram, Bhimavaram and some portion of the Tanuku taluk of West Godavari district, and extended upto the Vaśiṣṭhā, one of the

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 83 ff.

traditional seven branches of the Gautamī in the North and to the sea in the East.

The villages Dinakāḍu, Tāṇḍivāḍa, Kranūḷa, and Palakonu belonging to this country are still unidentifiable. If the name Palakonu is presumed to have been wrongly written for Palakolanu, then it may be taken to be identical with Pālakolanu, the modern Palakollu in the Narsapuram taluk, West Godavari district.

The Pāguṇāra is mentioned, as has already been stated, as Pāvunāra, Pāvanavāra, Pānāra and so on in ancient inscriptions. All these forms are, no doubt, the later variants of the same term Pāguṇāra, *gu* having been changed into *vu* in common parlance. The change from Pāguṇāra, Pāvunāra, Pāguṇavāra, and Pāvunavāra to Pānāra, the form that was in use in the fourteenth century, can be easily accounted for philologically.

Of all the variants cited above, Pāguṇāra found in the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Pṛithivī Mahārāja is the earliest one. There seems however to be a still earlier form, namely Prākuṇāra. This form finds mention in one of the late Eastern Cāḷukya grants — a record of the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Vijayāditya I ; yet it appears to be an earlier variant of the term Pāguṇāra. The latter is no doubt a developed form of Prākuṇāra. The *r* in *Prā* was dropped and *ku* in *Kuṇāra* was changed into *gu* in course of time yielding the modern form Pāguṇāra. Hence, Pāguṇāra, Pāvunāra, Pāguṇavāra, Pāvunavāra, Pāvanavāra and Pānāra are all the successive developed variants of the same term Prākuṇāra.

How did this territorial division derive this name ? What does the term Prākuṇāra signify? In other words, what is the meaning of Prākuṇāra ? It seems as if the clue to answer this question lies in the name itself. The word Prākuṇāra may be conveniently split up into two separate terms, namely, *prā* and *Kuṇāra*. *Kuṇāra*, the second member of the compound-word bears close analogy with the Prākṛit or the Dēśī term Kuṇāla or Kunāḷa, the great *jaladurga* conquered by the Early Cāḷukyan Emperor, Pulakēśin II. Kunāḷa[1] was identified with Kuḷanu or Kolanu, the modern Kollēru in West Godavari district. *La* and *ra* are interchangeable in Prākṛit. So Kuṇāla seems to be identical with Kuṇāra. *Prā*, the first member of the

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 3.

compound may mean old (as in *Prā-jaduvulu*), or may be taken to be the abridged or contracted form of *Prāk* which means east or eastern. *Prā+Kuṇāra* becomes Prāguṇāra. Similarly *Prāk+Kuṇāra* becomes Prākkuṇāra and Prākuṇāra and later on, when *r* is dropped, Pākuṇāra and Pāguṇāra. If the former is taken into account, the word Prākuṇāra means old Kuṇāra country, and the latter means the Eastern Kuṇāra country. In any case, it is certain that this territorial division derives its name from Kuṇāla, the modern Kollēru. The taluks of Narasapuram, Bhīmavaram, and some portion of the Tanuku taluk—all lie to the east of the great fresh water lake. It may be interesting to note here that one of the legendary sons of the Mauryan emperor Aśōka, whose edicts were discovered at Yeṟṟaguḍi in the Andhra country and Jaugaḍa in Kaḷiṅga, bears the name Kuṇāla. We do not know if this *Jaladurga* of Kuṇāla had anything to do with this legendary son of Aśōka.

The fresh water lake in the West Godavari District is now called Kollēru. The strong fortress that was situated in the midst of this lake appears to have been in existence even in the twelfth century. It was called Kolanuvīḍu in the Telugu records of the early twelfth century, and it was mentioned as Sarasīpurī and Kolanupura in the Eastern Cāḷukyan grants of the pre-Nannaya period. In the seventh century A.D., it had the name of Kuṇāla. There seems to be another earlier name of this fort. The term Kunāla bears striking resemblance to the word Kurāḷa, the king of which was mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription[1] of the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta. From this pillar record we come to know that Samudragupta conquered, in the course of his southern campaign, a number of kings ruling in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, of whom Maṇṭarāja of Kurāḷa was one. This king is mentioned in the above record as Kaurāḷaka Maṇṭarāja, that is, Maṇṭarāja belonging to or a resident of Kurāḷa. He is mentioned along with Vaiṅgēyaka-Hastivarman, that is, Hastivarman of Vēṅgī. As the above mentioned pillar record alludes to him subsequent to the king of Piṣṭhapura and prior to Viṣṇugōpa, lord of Kāñcī, Kurāḷa must have been within these two limits, Piṣṭhapura and Kāñci. As Maṇṭarāja and Hastivarman were mentioned in close succession it may not be unreasonable to think that Kurāḷa

1. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 7.

lay in the proximity of Vēṅgī, the famous capital of the Śālaṅkāyana kings. If *r* and *n* are accepted to be interchangeable, one need not strain much to say that Kurāḷa and Kunāḷa are identical. As a matter of fact, Professor Kielhorn[1] had already correctly identified Kurāḷa with Kollēru while trying to interpret the term *Kāunāḷam*. It therefore seems probable that the fortress which was conquered by Samudragupta and Pulakēśin II respectively in the fourth and seventh centuries A.D., was called both Kurāḷa and Kunāḷa, the two terms which had given rise to the two modern names Kollēru and Kolanu. These modern names appear to have been only the changed and developed forms of the old terms.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the Pāguṇāra country derived its name from the ancient Kurāḷa, Kuṇāla or Kuṇāra.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 3, vide f. n. 3.

THE DATE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLES OF HAZĀRA - RĀMASVĀMI AND VIṬṬHALA AT VIJAYANAGARA

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

Nearly half a century ago, Robert Sewell stated, in his well-known history of Vijayanagara, *A Forgotten Empire*, that Emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya built in his capital temples dedicated to gods, Hazāra - Rāmasvāmi and Viṭṭhalasvāmi. "In the same year (*i.e.* A.D. 1513)," says he, "he commenced the temple of *Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi* at the palace, the architecture of which leads Mr. Rea to think that it was not finished till a later period." "He also appears to have begun the construction of the temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmi on the river bank, the most ornate of all the religious edifices of the kingdom.... The work was continued during the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva's successors, Achyuta and Sadāśiva, and was probably stopped only by the destruction of the city in 1565."[1] These statements have been accepted as true by all writers on the subject ever since, though there is no evidence in support of them.

I

In the temple of Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi, four records are found inscribed on the base and the walls of the prākāra, of which two belong to the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The first dated Ś. 1435 (A.D. 1513), registers the gift by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of some villages to god Rāmacandradēva of his capital city on the occasion of a solar eclipse.[2] The second, dated S. 1443 (A.D. 1521), refers to a gift of land and the construction of *Utsava-manṭapa* in front of the temple on the northern side by Timmarāja, son of Cika Timmayadēva Mahārāja of the Ēṛuva branch of the Telugu Cōḷa family, a subordinate of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[3] Neither of these two epigraphs refers to the construction of the temple of Hazāra - Rāmasvāmi, though the second mentions indirectly the addition of an *Utsava-manṭapa* to it. The temple was already in existence;

1. *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 161-2, 163.
2. SII. IV. 253.
3. *Ibid.*, 250.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya made a gift for the continuance of daily offerings; and his subordinate built an additional *maṇṭapa* for the reception of the deity during the festival in the month of Caitra. Of the other two, one dated in the cyclic year Śrīmukha, records the gift of a golden plate to the god by a certain Aṇṇaladēvi, whose identity cannot be definitely established.[4] The emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya had, no doubt, a queen called Annapūrṇādēvī;[5] but as the cyclic year Durmukhi did not fall in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, but in the middle of that of his successor, Acyuta (S. 1458), it is doubtful whether she could have been identical with Kṛṣṇadēva's queen. The other is undated.[6] Though short, consisting of a single ślōka in the āryā metre, it deserves careful consideration. It runs thus:—

> "*Vāṇ=īva Bhōjarājam Tripurāmbā Vatsarājam=iva|*
> *Kāḷ=īva Vikramārkam Kalayati Pamp=ādya*
> *Dēvarāyanṛpam||.*"

The verse, it is true, does not refer to Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi or his shrine; but, as it is inscribed on the basement of the shrine, it indicates that at least the basement or part of it, if not the whole temple, was in existence since the time of one of the two Dēvarāya's that ruled at Vijayanagara. This, however, gives rise to an interesting question: how did this verse referring to the goddess Pampā, and her devotee Dēvarāya come to be engraved on the basement of a temple dedicated to god Śri Rāma? Two answers are possible to this question: (1) that the stone containing the inscription which belonged to a temple of the goddess Pampā was picked up by the builders of the Hazāra-Rāma temple and built into its basement; or, (2) what is more likely, that there stood originally at the site a temple of Pampā which was later converted into a temple of Rāma, due to the influence of the Vaiṣṇava creed.

The story narrated in the *Prapannāmṛtam*, a traditional account of Śrīvaiṣṇavism in South India, about the conversion of king Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagara, may be taken into consideration in this connection. According to this story, a poor Śrīvaiṣṇava brahman, Eṭṭūr Nṛsiṁhācārya by name, accompanied

4. SII. IV 251.
5. *Āmuktamālyada* 1: 38.
6. SII. IV 252.

by his younger brother, set out for Vijayanagara to make a living by expounding the *Rāmāyaṇa.* By the time they arrived at Vijayanagara, night had already set in. When they passed on their way in front of a palatial building, attracted by the bustle, they entered it mistaking it for the palace of the king. On their approach, the attendants readily admitted them in the hall, where the king, attended by his councillors and dependents, was holding his court. He received them with respect and enquired who they were, and why they came to the palace. When they told him their story, he asked them to repair secretly every night to the place and expound the *Rāmāyaṇa* for which they would receive a *niṣka* per night. They did accordingly. On the night when they read the *sarga* describing the *Śrī Rāma Paṭṭābhiṣēka,* the king and the courtiers presenting them many thousands of gold coins and precious stones, told them that the people to whom they had been expounding *Rāmāyaṇa* so far, were not men but actually the ghosts of the king, his ministers and dependents, whom the then reigning king Virūpākṣa had murdered; that, as they made it impossible for their murderer to live in the palace by haunting it, he was obliged to build a new palace where he was then living; and that in virtue of their having listened to the story of Rāma, they were cleansed of their sins and were departing to the heaven of *Śatānīka.*

King Virūpākṣa, who heard a report of the manner in which the palace was freed from the ghosts, summoned the Eṭṭūr brothers to his court and made enquiries about them. On hearing the whole story, a change came over his mind; he became a devotee of Rāma and felt great reverence for the *Rāmāyaṇa.* He accepted Nṛsiṁhācārya as his spiritual preceptor, and, abandoning the Vīra Śaiva faith of which he was a follower, embraced Śrīvaiṣṇavism. He also gave up the old royal seal with the sign manual *Virūpākṣa* and adopted a new one with the name of *Śrī Rāma* inscribed thereon.[6-a]

The *Prapannāmṛtam* thus refers to a king Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagara, who gave up his original Vīra Śaiva faith and embraced Śrīvaiṣṇavism. He was specially devoted to the worship of Rāma, and adopted as a symbol of his new faith the name of Śrī Rāma as his sign manual, abandoning the

6-a. *Sources of Vijayanagara History,* No. 27, pp. 71-79.

earlier '*Śrī Virūpākṣa*', which was in use before his conversion. Now, there were two kings of the name of Virūpākṣa who ascended the Diamond Throne : (1) Virūpākṣa I, son of Harihara II, ruled for a few months after the death of his father in A.D. 1404; but as he was succeeded by his brothers, Bukka II and Dēvarāya I, it is not likely that he was the king Virūpākṣa mentioned in the *Prapannāmṛtam.* (2) Virūpākṣa II was the son of Pratāpa Dēvarāya, an younger brother of Dēvarāya II, who obtained from his elder brother, the government of Penugoṇḍa. Virūpākṣa II had no claims to the throne; but being a prince of ambitious character he took forcible possession of the kingdom. According to the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣa II, issued on the occasion of his coronation on 8th Oct. A.D. 1465, he vanquished by means of his sword all his enemies on the battle-field, and obtained the kingdom by his prowess.[1] Mallikārjuna, son of Dēvarāya II, ruled at least until July A.D. 1465;[2] and he was succeeded, according to the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna*, by Rā II *i.e.* Rājaśekhara. This is supported by the evidence of two epigraphs dated A.D. 1468 and 1471 respectively,[3] which refer to him as the ruling sovereign at that time; but as Virūpākṣa was crowned, as stated already, in October A.D. 1465 at Vijayanagara, both of them could not have been ruling from the capital at the same time. It is interesting to note that the records of Rājaśēkhara cited above come from the North Arcot district and that in both of them Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, an enemy of Virūpākṣa II, figures as his subordinate. Taking into consideration all these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the enemy whom Virūpākṣa vanquished in battle was Mallikārjuna himself. Probably the latter was put to death after his defeat; and his son Rājaśēkhara fled to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, who espoused his cause and proclaimed him king. As the history of Virūpākṣa II bears a close resemblance to that of king Virūpākṣa described in the *Prapannāmṛtam*, it is not improbable that they are identical.

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1. *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, No. 26.
   "*Nija-pratāpād=adhigatya rājyam*
   samasta-bhāgyaiḥ parisēvyamānaḥ
   Khaḍg=āgratas=sarva-ripūn vijitya
   sammōdate vīra - vilāsa - bhūmiḥ."
2. EC. III. ML. 64.
3. 4 of 1896, 121 of 1921.

The Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi temple stood, as indicated by the term *Hazāra*, near the hall of entrance of the royal palace. Probably it is identical with the pagoda inside the palace mentioned by Paes, where Kṛṣṇadēvarāya used daily to 'make his orisons and ceremonies, according to custom.'[1] The Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi temple, therefore, appears to have been a shrine within the precincts of the palace built specially for the use of the king and the members of the royal family. Though tolerant in dealing with the various religious sects of the kingdom, none of the kings of the first dynasty was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism or devoted to the worship of Rāma. If the story of the *Prapannāmṛtam* can be depended upon, Virūpākṣa was the first king to accept Vaiṣṇavism and adopt Rāma as his favourite deity. As a shrine of Pampā stood on the site of Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi temple in the time of Dēvarāya, and as the latter was already in existence in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, it was probably built by Virūpākṣa II who, according to the *Prapannāmṛtam*, was specially devoted to the worship of Rāma.

II

In the temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmi there are nine inscriptions. Of these, three, all dated Ś. 1435, Śrīmukha, Caitra, Śu. 5, belong to the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. One of them[2] "registers a gift of land by the king himself, made on the occasion of a solar eclipse for the merit of his parents Narasaṇṇāyaka and Nāgājamma. The other two[3] register gifts of land by the king and his chief queens, Cinnādēvī and Tirumaladēvī, and mention incidentally that each of the queens built a *gōpura* to the temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmin. From these it is evident that the temple was already in existence at the beginning of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign and that only two *gōpuras* were added during the period of his rule. Of the remaining six records, one belongs to the reign of Acyutadēvarāya[4] and the rest to that of his nephew Sadāśiva.[5] None of these, however, refers to any addition to the temple. Literary

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1. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 250.
2. SII. IV. 277.
3. *Ibid.*, 273, 278.
4. *Ibid.*, 274.
5. *Ibid.*, 272, 275, 276, 279.

evidence, on the other hand, clearly indicates that Viṭṭhala temple is an earlier foundation, dating back at least to the time of Dēvarāya II. In the introduction to his *Uttara-Nārasiṁhapurāṇam*, Haribhaṭṭa, an elder contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, states that Prōluganṭi Tippa, one of the generals of Dēvarāya II, built a *gōpura* to the temple of god Virūpākṣa, and a *bhoga-maṇṭapa* to the god Viṭṭhalapati; and presented a valuable crown to the god Raghunātha of the Mālyavanta, and a pearl necklace to the god Vīrabhadra of the Matanga hill.[1] This is corroborated by the evidence of Tāḷḷapākam Annamācārya (A.D. 1408-1503), who composed a *saṁkīrtana* in praise of the god Viṭṭhala of Vijayanagara and his spouse Rukmiṇi.[2] The *saṁkīrtana* in question may be paraphrased into English thus,—

TUNE—*Lalita.*

Pallavi. To be sure, Viṭṭhala is a gallant. There! he has returned from his (amorous) visits to sundry places.

Caraṇas. 1. In the waters of the Tuṅgabhadrā, Viṭṭhala swims with women, diverting himself with the mad sports of love. Under the shade of the lofty trees of the pleasure gardens, Viṭṭhala amuses himself laughing in the company of women.

2. Excited by love, Viṭṭhala wanders throughout the whole length of the car street, inviting women to come into his dark chamber. Unable to carry on the amour, behold! Viṭṭhala partakes in a hundred feasts in the mountain valleys.

3. Behold! Viṭṭhala scatters his boons in every quarter of the city of Vijayanagara. Having come from the holy Venkaṭa hill, Viṭṭhala and Rukmiṇi reside in their temple.

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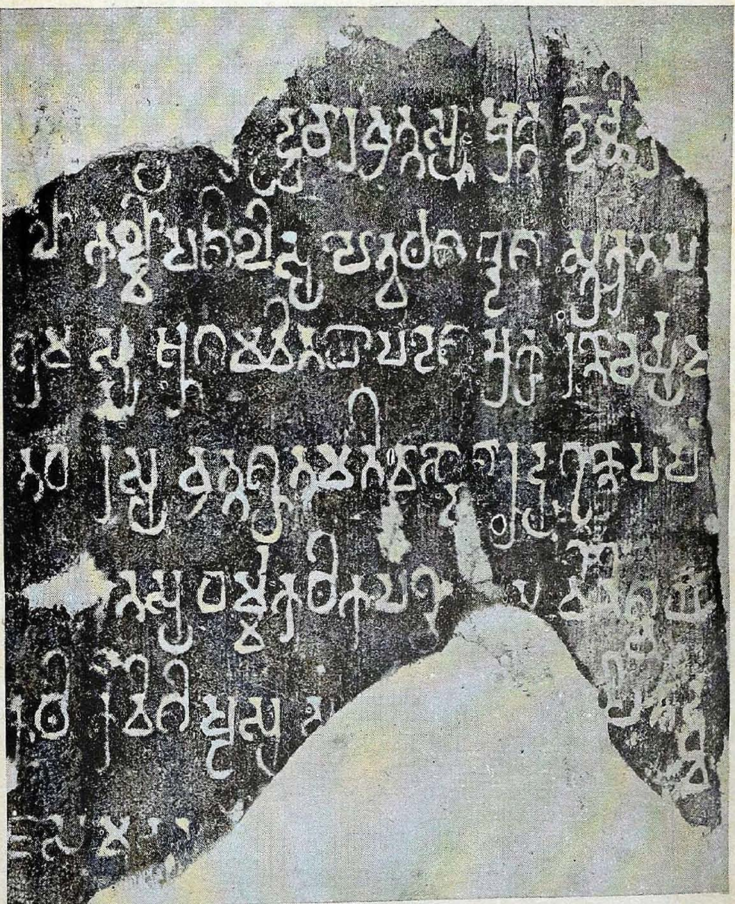
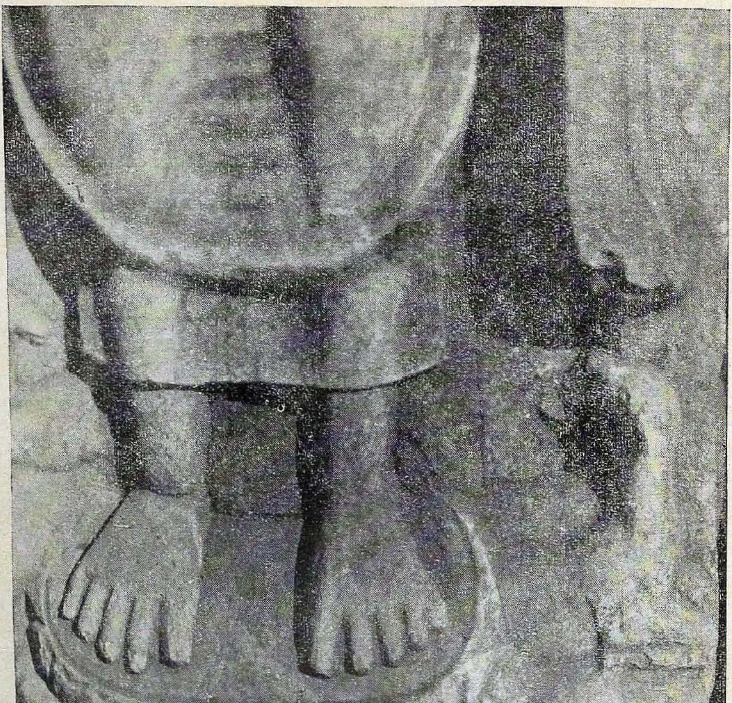
1. *Further Sources of the Vijayanagara History* I, No. 48,
2. *Tirupati Dēvasthānam Tāḷḷapākam Telugu Works Śṛṅgāra - Saṁkīrtanalu*, No. 229.

This *saṁkīrtana*, composed probably about the middle of the 15th century A.D., not only alludes to the temple of Viṭṭhala at Vijayanagara but also to several festivals such as the bathing festival, *rathōtsava*, *pāruvēṭa*, etc. As the author of the *saṁkīrtana* died six years before the accession of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, it disposes once for all of the theory that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya built Viṭṭhala's temple. It also sets at rest the belief that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, during one of his northern campaigns, brought the image of Viṭṭhala from Pandharpūr and installed it in his capital; for the last *caraṇa* of the *saṁkīrtana* explicitly states that Viṭṭhala and his spouse Rukmiṇi came to Vijayanagara not from Pandharpūr but the holy hill of Veṅkaṭa in the Chittoor district.



Sanskrit Inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa



Sanskrit Inscription below the feet of the standing Buddha at Jaggayapeṭa

P. 91. I

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

Read line 2 of this inscription as

. . gasya Śuddhācāra vṛttasya akuṇṭhācchidrā[ma]-

—T. N. R.

INSCRIPTIONS IN SAMSKRIT FOUND AT NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA.

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

Inscriptions so far discovered in the Buddhist sites at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Palnad taluk, Guntur district, are in Prakrit and of the Ikshvaku dynasty of kings belonging to the period 200-260 A.D. It is therefore interesting that recently two inscriptions in Saṁskrit, incised on blue lime-stone, were found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Both are broken and in pieces. One (12″ x 6″) bearing Register No. 399/28 has an inscription in nine lines, the extant portion of which speaks of a *Dharma-kathika* whose name is lost but is described *inter alia* as *Śuddh-ācāra-vṛtta,* etc. The script is Brāhmī of about 450-500 A.D. The palaeographical features of the inscription compare very well with those of the Saṁskrit inscription occurring in Jaggayyapeta and Gummididurru *stūpas,* Kistna district. As these inscriptions are not readily available to scholars, I give my readings of them below, by the side of the Saṁskrit inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa under consideration:—

I

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

Inscription on a fragmentary blue lime-stone slab (12″ x 6″), in Brāhmī script of about 450-500 A.D., and language Saṁskrit,

Line 1. ....la

2. .. gasya Śuddhācāra vṛttasya a ....
3. lākalmāṣa śīlasya hetvarthaśabda śāstra kṛtapa (ri)
4. śramasya āgamavinayopadeśa prakaraṇācāryyama-
5. tadharasya vṛitta śruta mati vāg vaiśāradyagunopapam-
6. nasya dharmmakathika p(r)avī (ṇa)sya viniścaya
7. kathikaviśiṣṭasya maṁ (tra)......pītaddhva-
8. jasamṛddha sa.........
9. ya...................

II

Jaggayyapeta Stūpa, Nandigama Taluk, Kistna District. Inscription in Saṁskrit language below the feet of the standing

figure of Buddha in high relief (see Burgess, *Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta*, Plate LV. Fig. 5 and LXIII. Fig. 4) reading as

Line 1. Svasti bhadanta Nāgārjunācāryyasya
2. Śiṣya(ḥ) Jayaprabhācāryya(ḥ) tac-chiṣyeṇa Ca(ndra)
3. prabheṇa kārāpitāṁ satya-sugata-gata-prasāda-viśeṣa-viśiṣṭa-saṁsāre devamanu(ja)
4. vibhūtipūrvvakaṁ Buddhattva-prāpti-nimittaṁ Buddhapratimāṁ pratisṭhā (ṣṭhā)pitāṃ anumodanā(ṁ)

Line 5. kurvvantu sarvve Saugaty-āgraya (?)nyo pi

Nāgārjuna referred to in this inscription is probably the later Tantric Guru, Siddha Nāgārjuna, who was one of the 84 Siddhas, and has therefore to be distinguished from the earlier Ācārya Nāgārjuna, the preacher of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy, who flourished in the second century A.D. The "Bhadanta Nāgārjuna" referred to here would appear to be the disciple of Saraha and who became famous for his mastery of Māyūrīvidyā. His period was probably the fifth century A.D.

III

Gummididurru Stūpa, Nandigama Taluk, Kistna District. Below the standing figure of Buddha in high relief (B. 238), discovered on the outer facing of the drum of a Buddhist stūpa at Gummididurru, runs in 4 lines the following inscription in Saṁskrit language and in Brāhmī script of the 5th century A.D. as in the other two cases described above:—

Line 1. Ācāryya Maugalyāyaṇasya priyaśiṣyasyācāryya
Line 2. (Dha)rmmadevasya śiṣyeṇa śrāmaṇaka Rāhulena Bhagavato
Line 3. pratimā pratiṣṭhāpitā sarvvasatvānām anuttarajñā-
Line 4. nāvāptayē yadatra puṇyam tad-bhavatu satvānāṁ-

AN EXHIBITION OF THE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF INDO-CHINA

To kindle greater public interest in the cultural contacts of ancient India and Cambodia, and to re-establish the contacts between Indian and French Indologists which had been interrupted by World War II, Mlle. S. Karpeles of the Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, conducted an exhibition of the art and archælogy of Indo-China at Pondicherry on the 25th January 1948.

The exhibition was declared open by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras (Retd.). H.E. M. Baron, Governor of French India, presided on the occasion. After Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's opening address, Mlle. S. Karpeles introduced the exhibition. The addresses by Prof. Sastri and Mlle. Karpeles are reproduced here.

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MLLE. KARPELES, FRIENDS,

I am grateful for the high honour you have conferred on me by asking me to come over here to-day to open this interesting exhibition organized by the "Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient." May I add how much I appreciate the warm personal interest taken by H. E. the Governor in its success and the very lavish arrangements he has caused to be made for the comfort of such of us as had to make a journey from Madras to be present here at this pleasant function.

Since I accepted your kind invitation I had occasion to go to Delhi on public business and I am glad to be able to report to you that I met several friends there who have vivid and pleasant recollections of this exhibition which they saw at the Asian Relations Conference at the beginning of last year; and I understand that now more exhibits have come in which were not on show at Delhi.

All the countries of the world, France, India and Indo-China not excepted, are facing crucial problems, economic, political and cultural, that have arisen clamantly from the different theatres of war; let us hope that there will soon be an end to grab, exploitation and strife and that sanity and the

habits of mutual good-will and peace will return to the world under the ægis of the U. N. O. Meanwhile it is pleasant and instructive to contemplate at least for a moment the aspects of human life and history that the present exhibition represents.

For it represents the happy results of a friendly interest taken in the past by a more advanced people in the destinies of their less gifted but quite receptive neighbours. Indian civilization was itself a blend of the most diverse elements drawn from cultures that had had a fairly long history before they met and mingled in pre-historic times. This civilization which is best described as Indo-Aryan arose from a complex process which we may compendiously call the Indianisation of the Aryan under the leadership of great seers and humanists, the vedic rishis, among whom Agastya is justly celebrated as the greatest expander of the sphere of Aryan culture. It was a work of sympathy, understanding and accommodation, and it was work that appears to have been carried out on the whole in a spirit of peace, in spite of the occasional and inevitable shocks and conflicts. This civilization when it reached its maturity, overflowed the bounds of India and crossed the seas to continue the good work of elevating and humanizing life in fresh lands, and the prevalence of the cult of Agastya in Indonesia and Indo-China is one of the surest signs of the continuity of this grand process in human history. At the beginning of the Christian era, when the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese peoples were still in the late neo-lithic stage of culture, began the expansion of Indo-Aryan culture into these lands, and among the earliest vestiges of this expansion are a number of Buddha statues in stone and metal in the unmistakable early Amarāvati style and a good number of Sanskrit inscriptions in a South Indian script composed in well turned verses and recording the conquests of kings, the performance of Vedic sacrifices by them and the construction of temples, irrigation works and so on. It was the transplantation of the whole apparatus of culture from India, its language, its religious and its social institutions, and its acceptance by the indigenous peoples who were first doubtless astonished by the new comers and their ways, but were quick to realize their friendly intentions and the great benefits of consorting with them and adopting their ways of life, thought and action. Many new kingdoms grew side by side of one another, flourished for generations, and even in the midst of the clashes caused by

their rival ambitions, they did much to foster industry, trade and the arts. Fu-Nan and its successor Kambuja, Campā and Śrī-Vijaya stand out prominent among them and their history fills the annals of centuries. The last mentionned state was a maritime empire with its headquarters in Śrī-Vijaya, modern Palembang in Sumatra. It was a centre of Sanskrit and Buddhist studies which long maintained friendly contacts with the Pāla empire of Bengal and the Cholas in the South, and with great Indian centres of learning and worship like Nālandā, Kanchipuram and Negapatam. The relations between Śrī-Vijaya and the Chola empire in its heyday in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were particularly close though not always friendly.

Of the beginnings and progress of this vast movement of Hindu colonization in the East we knew very little till the beginning of the present century. Two generations of French and Dutch archæologists, philologists and historians have laboured with zeal at the recovery of this forgotten chapter of India's history, of which the outlines stand out fairly clear now, but the details still remain to be filled in by the further progress of studies so happily and well begun. In fact the recovery of the ancient history of India and her colonies by scientific methods is one of the happiest results of the sway, open to much criticism along other lines, which the European nations established and exercised over these lands in the nineteenth century. And that history is full of instruction to those nations themselves which are being forced by the stress of war and revolt to find a fresh basis for the regulation of their relations with the peoples of Asia. It shows that without political power, without economic exploitation, India found it possible in the past to establish a lasting empire over the hearts of diverse peoples by promoting cultural harmony among them on the foundation of a wise understanding and accommodation of differences among them. In the recapture and practice of this spirit in the near future by the nations of the world lies its only way of escape from the perils that now threaten to engulf it.

The foundation of E.F.E.O., represented here by Mlle. Karpeles and this exhibition, marks an epoch in the organisation and furtherance of the studies which are revealing to us so many wonders and achievements of our race in the past. Mlle. Karpeles will soon give you an account of the Ecole

and its work and I am sure that will be of very great interest to you. But I will say this. Anyone who glances even superficially through the forty odd volumes of the Bulletin of the Ecole will see readily what a large place it takes in the study and interpretation of Asian cultures, what a wide range of subjects in linguistics, ethnography, pre-historic and historic archæology it covers, and what a mass of literature, inscriptions and artifacts it has discovered, scanned, illustrated and interpreted. The ethnographic part of the work is of particular interest to us, as the study of Indian ethnography has much leeway to make up. Even in archæology, though at the beginning of the century the Indian archæological survey just then reorganized under Sir John Marshall was the envy of scholars working in Indonesia and Indo-China, the position is no longer the same and Indian archæologists will find that they have much to learn from the methods and practices followed in the Ecole and the museums under its control.

Indo-China, as its very name implies, was subject to cultural influences from India as well as China, though the former were the more dominant ones; for China, though nearer, or possibly because it was nearer, aimed at dominion—always a source of irritation to the dominated, and thus, unlike India, forfeited the chance of a friendly and willing reception from the peoples of Indo-China. But the Ecole has by no means neglected the Chinese side of the story which is often interwoven with the Indian side, and that institution would be capable, if called upon, to organize an exhibition, similar to this, which would greatly interest the scholars and people of China.

Speaking of archæology in Pondicherry, I cannot omit to mention the name that will ever be associated with this fine city—I mean my late lamented friend Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil. I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship for some years and had many occasions of noticing how closely he collaborated with the Ecole in his striking work in this city, and how some of his most brilliant results were confirmed by discoveries made by the scholars of the Ecole! How I wish he were here in person to-day! He discovered Arikamedu, and all that has since been done there is a commentary, a necessary and instructive commentary, on conclusions he reached by his intuition guided by surface finds.

I have much pleasure in declaring the exhibition open and in requesting Mlle. Karpeles to introduce you to it.

MLLE. S. KARPELES.

A rough sketch of Indo-China and its different civilisations will help to realise the large field of researches the peninsula offers to the E. F. E. O.'s scholars and the amount of work they have achieved not only for a better knowledge about Indo-China's cultures but also for the benefit of Further India's studies.

The physical aspect of the country is characterised by the mountainous chain dividing the peninsula into two distinct portions from N.W. to S. E. On the N.E. lies China, on the W. Burma and Siam, the Mekong River being the natural boundary between Siam and Laos.

The Annamites, who are to be found in Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina, represent 72 per cent. of the population and owe their culture to China. The Cambodians, only 12 per cent. of the population, owe their culture to India, and the Laotians, who represent 6 per cent. of the peninsula's population, are settled on the western slopes of the mountainous chain and received also their culture from India. Besides different ethnical groups, Indonesian elements which show a close anthropological link between Indo-China and India, are to be found scattered here and there. From pre-historical remains, one may infer that intercourse existed between the Indo-Chinese peninsula and India, and that amongst its population different elements were to be found.

In the beginning of the Christian era both civilisations, China's on the east and India's on the west, impressed the people who were still making common use of the polished stone. On the other hand, the facts recorded in the Chinese Annals about early Annamite history corroborate fully the remains brought to light by the E. F. E. O's archæological survey. After the 10th century, when the Annamites obtained their freedom from the Chinese political hold, they expanded southward and entirely absorbed the Hinduised kingdom of Champa, and later on part of the big Khmer Empire in Cochinchina.

The oldest informations about Cham or Champa Kingdom may be traced back to the 2nd century A.D. It owed its splendour to Indian pacific cultural invasion by means of Hindu and Buddhist religions which implied Sanskrit culture

and Indian art canon. Now-a-days ruins are the only concrete witnesses of Cham civilisation, and the few ethnical groups which have survived the Annamite absorption, profess the Mohammedan faith.

Recent archæological discoveries have enabled us to locate on the map sites of the Fu-Nan Empire, known to the Chinese historians, which included the Khmer Kingdom. Those discoveries revealed also the close trade connection existing, at the time, between the Fu-Nan Empire and India, that is to say, as early as the 2nd century A.D. In the middle of the 6th century A.D. the Khmer Kingdom established its paramount sovereignty and up to the 13th century A.D. knew an ever ascending growth of splendour which gave birth to Khmer Art, now-a-days universally acknowledged as one of the finest expressions of Eastern Art, which attained its climax while the Kingdom's capital was Angkor. After the 13th century A.D. this art's florescence came to a standstill with the kingdom's decline and Hinayanist Buddhism took the place of Hinduism and Mahanyanist Buddhism, and this resulted in the gradual decay of Sanskrit culture. But the precious cultural gift India had brought to the western people of the peninsula was not lost, when in the middle of the 14th century A.D. emerged, from the Mekong Valley, the first independent Laotian kingdom of Luang Prabang, thus reviving once more Indian culture.

With this rapid sketch as background, we will now present the different activities of the Institute; but one must bear in mind that we will only mention those pertaining to Indology in particular and the other activities dealing specially with Sinology shall be purposely omitted.

The E.F.E.O. or French Research Institute for the Far East, was founded in 1898 and is under the scientific control of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, part of the well-known Institut de France in Paris. The main object of this F.R.I. is, as its name implies, to carry out historical, archæological and linguistic researches not only in Indo-China but also in Eastern Asia, involving besides researches in ethnological, pre-historical, physical and human geographical fields. The library which is housed in a three-storied building at Hanoi, Tonkin, contains about 40,000 volumes on oriental subjects written in different European languages; 27,000

Chinese volumes, a detailed catalogue of them being in progress; 6,000 Annamese works being mainly copies of originals from Hue's Imperial library and of the Annamite historical record office; 11,000 Japanese books; 2,000 Cambodian and Laotian manuscripts; and 25,000 rubbings of ancient inscriptions. The photographic department, with an up-to-date equipment, possesses 25,000 negatives and 3,000 lantern slides.

Two important archaeological museums are under the direct supervision of the R. I.—the Hanoi one contains also masterpieces from India up to Japan, the Indo-Chinese section being naturally the most important one; the other Museum of Turan in Annam, is entirely devoted to Cham archaeology. Besides, the rich pre-historical collection is housed in the Hanoi museum and an ethnographical museum has been also opened in Hanoi. Other museums are under the scientific control of the E. F. E. O. In Saigon, capital of Cochinchina in the Southern part of the Peninsula, the museum contains specimens of far eastern Art and an interesting collection of Khmer pieces found in Cochinchina, formerly part of ancient Khmer empire. In Cambodia, the Phnom Penh museum is entirely devoted to Khmer Art from the earliest to the latest periods; in Annam, the Hue museum offers a fine display of Annamite art, and the Tanh Hoa one, northern Annam-Southern Tonkin, contains a rich collection of remains of the first centuries of the Christian era during the Chinese occupation. The Angkor group of Khmer monuments, and the Mison group, of Cham ruins, have a special status and have been converted into "Parks". Scientific restoration, known as "anastylosis", has been carried out most successfully ever since 1931. The archaeological survey of the R. I. is entrusted with the care of some 1,200 monuments scattered throughout the peninsula.

As for the studies written during the last 43 years by the members of this F.R.I. and some foreign scholars, such as Prof. Nilakanta Shastri, the great Indian scholar, dealing with archaeology, philology, linguistic history and ethnology, they are to be found in the 43 important volumes of its annual Bulletin and in 35 volumes of special "Publications" and in 8 "Archaeological memoirs", besides 5 volumes of "Texts and Documents" and an important "Bibliographical Dictionary" dealing with all the works published on Indo-China, without omitting the different museums catalogues. Thanks to the

exchange of publications, the E. F. E. O. is in touch with the universities and "Societies Savantes" all over the globe.

The newly appointed director, Mr. Paul Levy who came to Delhi for the opening of the Indo-Chinese display at the archaeological exhibition during the Inter-Asian conference last April, is a graduate of the French Institute of Indian Civilisation of Paris University, in Sanskrit and Indian archaeology and of the Ethnological Institute of Paris University. He was the pupil of Alfred Foucher, Sylvain Levi, Louis Renou, Jules Bloch, Przyluski, Paul Mus, all leading scholars of French Indology. Previously he occupied the post of chief at the ethnological Dpt. of the E. F. E. O.; later on he was nominated Curator of the Hanoi museum and finally general Secretary of the institute. He is the founder of the Indo-Chinese institute for the study of man, in Hanoi, and brought out a magnificent Bulletin which will be another scientific link between Indian savants and the two Indo-Chinese institutes.

The present archaeological and ethnographical exhibition, though a modest one, will give a better idea of the work carried out than the above dry statement. We hope that, besides, it will, after all those years of silence, help to revive the interest that the Indian elite had for Indochinese studies and will even induce them to come over and admire on the spot the great monuments of Indian cultural colonisation.

THE ORIENTALIST ACTIVITY OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL NUMISMATICS DEPARTMENT

BY

ANDRE GUILLOU, PARIS.

The Departments of Coins and Medals of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris "Le Cabinet des Mèdailles" and its collections, are well known the world over. Work in the Greek, Roman, French and other sections has progressed satisfactorily but there is a branch of numismatics which has been comparatively neglected; that is the oriental collections of the Department of coins and medals, with the exception of the Arabic section in which much work has been done by H. Lavoix with his catalogues of "Muslim coins", Paris 1887-1891. However, so many acquisitions have been made since then that a revision of the catalogue is long overdue. That is all the intellectual world knows of the oriental coin collections of France. One of the reasons for this is that there are so few French orientalists interested in numismatics. Since Lavoix there has only been one outstanding expert in that line: Cottevielle-Giraudet, who died during the 1st war. Unfortunately he had time only to do some good ground work and to publish a few essays on some particular subjects.

Everything therefore remains to be done in the field of oriental coins, medals and intaglios and there is much to do. If various catalogues and essays were to be published on this subject they would be useful contributions to science.

As a matter of fact the work has already begun. It is planned to organize in Paris a centre of numismatic documentation from different countries, both ancient and modern, of Central and Western Asia.

It is proposed to divide this work into three groups; the purely Iranian section, the Indian section and the section of Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, Kuṣān and other coins.

The first group will include Iran itself at different periods; Achaemenid, Arsacid, Sassanid, Muslim. Each of these divisions covers the vaious branches of numismatics and sigillography (coins, medals, intaglios).

At the same time the question of coins from Bactria, Sogdiana and adjoining places will be taken up. There is a beautiful collection of Sogdianian coins at the Bibliotheque Nationale.

Next will come India. This work is more important still. The collections will have to be adapted and completed and the characteristics of the Indian coins will have to be described and given their special significance.

With this research as a starting point and making use of the other influences such as those of China, a field as yet little known will then be approached: that of Indo-Parthian, Indo-Scythian and Kuṣān coins. Such are the oulines of the plan. What has already been done? So far most of the work carried out has dealt with the Iranian group. The Department of Coins and Medals having luckily acquired the Parthian and Sassanid coins from the J. de Morgan collection, these had to be classified as well as an important lot of coins which came from the Suza excavations. These are two of the factors which made the work begin with Iran. Another factor is the collaboration of a specialist of modern Persia, M. Rabino di Borgomal with the result that the catalogue of the coins of the Shahs of Persia is almost ready. M. Rabino di Borgomal's last work published in 1945 under the title of Coins, Medals, and Seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1941), helped us to prepare our catalogue. The classification of our Persian coins will however bring out certain new and useful elements when the catalogue does come out.

Another thing occurred to make us take a special interest in the Iranian section. When our collections came back after the war we had to take care of the oriental intaglios which were to be put back in their places. Among them there is a considerable number of Persian, Achaemenidian and Sassanian intaglios. These last lot numbered about 300, of which 160 carried inscriptions.

It was obvious from the start that the publication of this treasure in the form of a catalogue or essay would be a most useful thing. In fact an article on a unique and hitherto unpublished Manichean intaglio will appear very shortly in the Revue d'Histoire des Religions. Others will follow since the deciphering of inscriptions has shown that they include a number of as yet unpublished texts.

Something must be said of the methods followed in establishing the centre of documentation for oriental numismatics.

However important they may be, our collections are not complete and many of the series have gaps to be filled. This is not always easy in these difficult days. Besides, it happens very often that specialists ask us some information on some given point or coin. If all museums published the lists of their acquisitions it would not be difficult to reply to enquiries. But this is almost impossible. There is also another factor to take into consideration, that is private collections. They are often not available to orientalists either because they are not known or because they are too far away from the specialists. In order to facilitate the work of French research workers and of foreigners passing through France, it has been decided to approach the various museums and private collectors and ask them to send to us either impressions or photographs of the coins they have which might be of interest to the various sections mentioned above.

So far the response has been very good. Beautiful collections of impressions of Iranian coins from various periods have been received. These are photographed and each reproduction placed on an index card with a full description and the name of the museum or collection from where it comes. This provides a compact and easily accessible documentation. Any specialist coming to France will thus be able to obtain on the spot all the information he requires on any given coin, medal or intaglio.

This documentation is all the more important, specially for the East, since the history of many civilizations can only be traced through numismatic and sigillographic documents. Nothing should be left to chance in these domains. I therefore appeal to all official departments of coins and medals and private collectors with coins, medals or intaglios of the Middle East and Central Asia as far as and including India, to send impressions or photographs to the Cabinet des Mèdailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale. This will contribute towards a better knowledge of oriental civilizations. I have already received some interesting information from Brussels, The Hague, New York and from a few private French and British collectors and I hope to have a great deal more from

other sources specially from India. I sincercly and warmly thank in advance all those who will help us to make of the French Department of Coins and Medals a useful instrument of scientific research in eastern numismatics.

ANDRÉ GUILLOU

du Cabinet des Medailles Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris,

Rue de Richelieu, Paris 1 er

CORRESPONDENCE

A QUOTATION IN THE LOCANA

Regarding my note in the last issue of this Journal (Vol. XV, Part I, pp. 32-33) identifying the source of the quotation in Abhinavagupta's Dhvanyālokalocana, 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्'—

Mm. P. V. Kane writes: "I read.... your brief but interesting note on 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्'..... which you rightly trace to the Mahābhāṣya. May I draw your attention to the same arrangement (but in the nominative case) in such an old work as the Atharva Veda VIII. 2·25 where we read

सर्वो वै तत्र जीवति गौरश्वः पुरुषः पशुः ।
यत्रेदं ब्रह्म क्रियते परिधिर्जीवनाय कम् ॥

I hope this will interest you."

As indicated in the Index compiled by me for the K.S.R.I. edn. of the Dhvanyāloka, Uddyota One, and as mentioned by me in the note in the last issue of this Journal, 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्' in the same form as quoted by Abhinavagupta, occurs in the Atharva Veda VIII. 7. 11. But, as Mm. Kane has stated, the quotation made by Abhinavagupta, is, as has been done by me, to be traced to a citation in the Mahābhāṣya.

Sri S. Ramaswami Sastri, a Life Member of the K.S.R.I., writes with reference to the same note of mine in the last issue, that the verse cited by Patañjali, with some differences, occurs in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Prapāṭhaka VI. Anuvāka 5.

अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं जगत् ।
वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति पञ्चभिर्मानवैर्यमः ॥

The Anuvāka deals with Yamayajña and this verse is the fourth of a set of seven verses on Yama in the latter part of the Anuvāka.

V. RAGHAVAN

BOOK REVIEWS

RELIGION AND SOCIETY BY S. RADHAKRISHNAN. GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN LTD. LONDON. 1947. PRICE 10. 6.

Based on the Kamala lectures delivered in the Universities of Calcutta and Benares in the winter of 1942, this book faithfully reflects the reactions of a modern *śiṣṭa* to the world situation as it was in that fateful year. Its appeal to the reader is not the less to-day when it is becoming increasingly evident that the rulers of the world have set their course for another war more deadly than the last. With the wealth of learning and charm of eloquence characteristic of him, Radhakrishnan pursues in these lectures the double purpose of probing the causes of the deep malaise in the world situation and of suggesting the only adequate remedy for it. His main thesis is that man has deserted God for Mammon, and that nothing but disaster awaits him unless he retraces his steps while it is yet possible and restores his allegiance where it is due. Throughout he illustrates his points and drives them home by a reference to the religion, philosophy and sociology and to the lives and ideals of the rulers, saints and seers of India like Buddha, Asoka and Gandhi to mention only the leading names.

The book is arranged in five chapters headed: The Need for Religion, The Inspiration of Religion and the New World Order, Hindu Dharma, Women in Hindu Society, and War and Non-Violence. It is useless to attempt to summarize this reasoned plea for the restoration of spiritual values to their proper place in civilized life. The topical nature of the theme and the acknowledged eminence of the author must ensure for it a very wide circulation in all the countries of the world.

K. A. N.

INDIA ANTIQUA, KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN.

India Antiqua, a volume of Oriental Studies, was presented to the distinguished Orientalist, Jean Philippe Vogel, C. I. E., by his friends and pupils, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation as Doctor in Philology at the University of Amsterdam. Prof. Vogel's services to Indian archæology are very valuable and varied. He is held

in high esteem and admiration by seasoned archæologists like Sir John Marshall who says, "There is no one living to whom I would so gladly pay my tribute of admiration as Professor Vogel, who colloborated with me for so many years in India, and for whose achievements in the field of Indian archæology I entertain highest possible esteem."

The volume under notice is a monumental testimony to the admiration which Prof. Vogel has earned, not only from his collaborators like Sir John Marshall and pupils, but from all those working in the field of oriental research, by the life-long and inestimable services he has rendered to the cause of Indology in its various branches. Many well known European and Indian Orientalists, like Bachhofer, L., Konow, S., Coedes, G., Thomas, F.W., Bernet Kempers, A. J., Galestin, Th. P., Coomaraswamy, A. K., Bhattacharyya, B., Law, B. C., Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., Chhabra, B.Ch.,—to mention only a few—have enriched the volume under notice by their very valuable contributions, and paid their respects to Prof. Vogel.

The volume contains articles on diverse subjects relating to Iconography, Philology, Epigraphy, Chronology, History, Religion, Literature and Arts like painting and sculpture. The migration of the magical symbol Oṃ by Boeles, J.J., Illustrations from the Pauṣya parvan on a Balinese Painting by Galestin, Th. P., The Bhīmastava by Bosch, F.D.K., Plural forms in Buddhist Iconography by Pott, P. H., the Śailendra Interregnum by Naerssen, F. H. Van, and Mṛcchakaṭikā and King Lear by Faddegon, B., are some of the articles of special interest to Indians. Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions by Konow, S., The Battle of Veṇbai by Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., Some remarkable Buddhist bronzes in Baroda by Bhaṭṭacharya, B., A new inscribed image of Yaksha by Bajpai, K.D., The subject of the Sīgiri Paintings by Paranavitana, S., 'Kaniṣka year 14' by Thomas, F. W., and Two notes on Mathurā Sculpture by Lohuizen-De Leeuw, J. E. Van, are some interesting articles relating to Indian history and archæology that require special mention. In addition to the articles mentioned above, there are many more that bear testimony to patient research and eminent scholarship of the contributors and throw light on many points of Oriental culture.

The fine get up and the neat printing of the volume claim our special admiration.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

BHAGAVAD GITA AND MODERN LIFE by K. M. Munshi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1947, pp. 224, Price Rs. 6-0-0.

This book consists of a series of lectures delivered in the Gita Vidyalaya, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, during the years 1944-45 and 1945-46. The author says in his Foreword :—

"I believe that unless the eternal truth underlying the Bhagavad Gita is utilised to shape life in all its modernity and richness, it would be impossible to bring the modern mind to appreciate the beauty aud grandeur of the absolute integration of human personality, for which the Gita provides the perfect guide."

"The absolute integration of human personality"—this is the most important point stressed by Mr. Munshi throughout these lectures. Yoga is for him "the one comprehensive process by which man ascends in the scale of life by performing acts which are the expression of a dynamic personality based on the complete co-ordination of all his powers." The advice of Krishna to Arjuna is not simply to fight but to be a yogi and fight. "To do" should be the flowering of "to be". The West has created a philosophy of life out of its own demoniac restlessness and called it a philosophy of action. Such a philosophy and the Karma-yoga of the Gita are poles asunder. To call the Western philosophy of action a Karma-yoga is a lie, according to Mr. Munshi. What the Gita envisages is action which is not only the result of the absolute integration of the personality of man, illumined by knowledge and inspired by devotion, but also which is in search of self-realisation. In fact, action uninstructed by knowledge and uninspired by devotion does not and cannot make for self-realisation. It is not yoga. Thus knowledge, action and devotion are not alternative pathways. All the three have to converge into one. It is only for the purposes of instruction that we speak separately of Karma-yoga, bhakti-yoga and jnana-yoga. In actuality they cannot be separated from one another, any more than the various functions of the mind can be separated from one another.

Another important point made by Mr. Munshi is that, in the religious discipline advocated by the Gita, man's own individual nature is taken as the starting point. He says:—

"The Gita starts with the fundamental position that *svabhava* or man's individual nature, *svakamra* or the task

appointed by his nature and *svadharma* or the law of his being or his own characteristic Truth of Duty, are inalienable and sacred for him. The individual nature of a man is therefore the basis of his personality—the only centre of dynamic power which he possesses. By this emphasis Sri Krishna places human personality on a firm foundation."

The Gita by thus linking *svadharma* with *svabhava* has also given a new content and a new meaning to the fourfold order of Hindu society. It has transferred the emphasis from birth to the individual nature of man. Individuals are divided into four classes, according to their nature, irrespective of the parentage from which they spring. Any social system which denies to an individual the right to develop his nature goes counter to the teachings of the Gita and is unnatural. It will destroy the individual and will in the end destroy itself. Sri Krishna's message, therefore, supplies the vitality which should re-integrate our fourfold order from generation to generation; for, according to Mr. Munshi, "classless society is as much a myth as the equality of men." Thus the path of Yoga taught in the Gita cuts across all natural and artificial barriers created by heredity, tradition and social environment. Everything depends on man's own nature, his aspiration and "his will to become."

The lectures are interspersed with a good deal of historical and autobiographical matter, which is sometimes very interesting, but which on the whole obscures the main drift. We wish that, when the book was prepared for the press, the spoken words were properly pruned and given a lasting shape and form.

D.S.S.

SATAKATRAYA OF BHARTRHARI. Edited by D. D. KOSAMBI, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY. Rs. 5-8-0.

The bewildering Bhartṛhari material has found now in Sri D.D. Kosambi a scholar who has started a systematic study of both the author Bhartṛhari and the three hundred verses on Nītī, Śṛṅgāra and Vairāgya ascribed to him. He has now published a number of studies on both the author and text, and one of his papers on the former has appeared in the pages of this Journal (Vol. 15, pt. 2). No less than 150 Mss. of the Triśatī have been studied by him, and as a preliminary to his final edition, he has brought out editions of the

Northern and Southern archetypes of the text ; the former was edited in the Ānandāśrama series, and the volume under review represents the latter.

The present edition of the Southern archetype is based on 24 mss. and 4 commentaries, an edition of one of which is also added to the text by Sri Kosambi's collaborator, Pandit Krishnamoorti Sarma. The edition notes not only variant readings but gives necessary indications regarding doubtful and additional stanzas, and what is more important, references to the verses in the centuries which are quoted in anthologies, works of poetics, etc. All these, and the excellent typographical set-up and printing make the edition very useful and attractive.

A few corrections may be pointed out: P. 61, verse 1—Rasanaivaikā should be rasanā naiva. P. 92, verse 1—of Padminī and Madhupa both of which are in the nominative, one, preferably Madhupa, should be in accusative. Pp. 87, 90, 96, 97—Sub-headings Grīṣma, Prāvṛt, Śarat and Hemanta are to be inserted.

In the important work of giving references to citations of Bhartṛhari-verses, a few errors of commission and omission may be noted:

(*a*) All the works cited here are not listed among the abbreviations and explained. (*b*) Under 1·13, Adhigataparamārthān, the reference to Rudraṭa is not complete; the reference is to Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṁkāra 1·7 where there is only an echo of the opening words of this verse. (*c*) Under II. 27, the poetess Śīlābhaṭṭārikā is twice mentioned in masculine. (*d*) Under II. 92,—Uparighanam,—reference is given to Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, III. 87 (88); this is a mistake due to reliance on mere index, for the two verses are different, that cited by Bhoja being a well-known verse from the Mudrārākṣasa.

The following have been missed:

(*a*) I. i. Dikkālādi, as I have pointed out in my article on the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in this Journal (Vol. XIII. p. 116), is cited by Sómānanda in his Śivadṛṣṭi.

(*b*) I. 57. Pradānam pracchannam—is cited in Municandra's gloss on the Dharmabindu prakaraṇa, Bib. Ind. edn. p. 29.

(*c*) II. 41 Kānteti—Kṛṣṇamiśra's Prabodhacandrodaya, IV. 8.

(*d*) III. 6—Kṣāntam na kṣamayā—cited by Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, XI. 36.

(*e*) III. 57—Vipulahṛdayaiḥ— Do. do. II. 8.

V. RAGHAVAN

A Hand-book of Classical Sanskrit Literature by Professor U. Venkatakrishna Rao, M. A., published by Vedam Venkataraya Sastri and Bros., No. 4, Mallikesvaran Koil South Lane, Linghi Chetti Street, George Town, Madras. Crown—Pages 1 to 180. Price Rs. 2.

In the field of History of Sanskrit Literature, Professor A. A. Macdonnel's book was occupying an important place especially among the student population. Professor A. B. Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature deals with the Classical period alone and does not include the Epic, Itihāsa and Purāṇa Literature. A student of the B. A. Degree Course in the Madras University has to study the latter portion of the book of Professor A. A. Macdonnel and supplement the information given in it from the book of Professor A. B. Keith. Thus there has not been till now any one complete text book on the History of Sanskrit Literature for the students of the B. A. Degree Course. This long-felt necessity has now been fulfilled by Professor U. Venkatakrishna Rao by the publication of the book under review. But, as the author himself says, " it can also be of interest to the Samskritists in general and to students of Literature in particular."

The author has judiciously retained the same chapter headings as adopted by Professor A. B. Keith as they are not capable of any improvement. He has understood the real difficulty of the students appearing for examinations, and has prepared the book probably from the notes he might have dictated to his own students in the Madras Christian College, Madras. He has given some additional information regarding the Purāṇas which are not dwelt upon at length by Professor A. A. Macdonnel. The date of Kālidāsa has been discussed fully though in a brief manner ; the date assigned by A. B. Keith to Kālidāsa, *i.e.*, 4th A.D. is criticised very severely and the other theories are referred to in a clear and concise manner. He follows the Indian tradition in assigning Kālidāsa to 56 B.C. or 150 B.C.

Parallel ideas and descriptions in the works of Kālidāsa and the Rāmāyaṇa are also touched upon. The chapter dealing with the characteristics of the Samskrit Drama contains a volume of information in a nut shell besides a plan with measurements of an Indian Theatre. The book also contains a very useful literature symposium in tabular form giving the date in centuries and the names of works and authors according to classified subject-matter. A list of suggestive questions has been appended. The utility of the book would have been considerably increased if diacritical marks have been followed for Samskrit words and an index of authors and works added at the end. The book is extremely useful to all students of Sanskrit Literature, and especially to students studying for B.A. Degree Course in the various Universities of South India.

T. CHANDRASEKHARAN

OBITUARY NOTICES

PROF. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

We are very sorry to hear of the passing away of Prof. Gajendragadkar, who was Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College, Bombay and later Principal of the Siddhartha College, Bombay. There is hardly a student of Sanskrit literature who has not used with profit his annotated editions of classics like the Śākuntala, the Veṇīsaṁhāra, the Harṣacarita, the Daśakumāracarita, the Ṛtusaṁhāra, the Kāvyaprakāśa, and the Tarkasaṁgraha. He was actively connected with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Annals of the B.O.R.I. for a long time. Besides being a teacher of Sanskrit and editor of Sanskrit classics, the late Prof. Gajendragadkar took an active interest in the military training of the young, having been made an officer of the U. T. C. and the Bombay Home Guards. By his premature death at 56 the world of Sanskrit at large and public life in Bombay and Maharashtra have become poorer.

MM. DR. GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJAH.

In the death of Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojah, Indology has lost an outstanding all round scholar whose work in the field of archæology and history of Rajaputana is especially valuable. In recognition of his scholarship and research work, the Government honoured him with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya, the Benares Hindu University with a doctorate, and the world of scholars with a commemoration volume. He was elected president of several historical and literary gatherings and conferences and was honorary member of many learned institutions.

His work on Indian paleography *"Bhāratīya Prācīnalipimālā"* (first edn. 1894, second revised edn. 1918) is a widely known pioneering work of importance. Among his other works may be mentioned *History of Sirohi, History of Solankis, History of Rathors, a Hindi translation of Tod's Rajasthan, Madhyakālīna Bhāratīya Samskṛti,* and an edition of the *Pṛthvīrājavijayamahākāvya.*

PROF. L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER.

It is with great sorrow that we received the news of the sudden and premature end at the age of 53 of Prof. L.V. Ramaswami

Iyer while still in service in the Maharajah's College, Ernakulam. Unfortunately he could not live to see even his last article on the language of the Ramacarita printed in the last issue of this Journal. He was one of the few important and well-equipped writers in the field of Dravidian linguistics. Among his works may be mentioned Malayalam Morphology and Grammar in Litatilakam. He knew also German, French, Syriac and Russian.

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

When we recently reviewed in the pages of this Journal (Vol. XV, pp. 189-190) three lectures of Dr. Coomaraswamy on the Indian pattern of society, we hardly realised that those were the last of the contributions of that distinguished savant. There has been no greater exponent of the ideals and methods of Indian art than Coomaraswamy and his death has created a void that can hardly he filled up

Born in Colombo on 22nd August, 1877, Ananda Coomaraswamy was, to begin with, a student of Geology, in which he graduated, took his doctorate and made some valuable contributions. Related to a distinguished family of Ceylon, keenly interested in literary studies, Dr. Coomaraswamy soon left the field of science and found Indian art as the appointed work of his life. It is impossible to give here a full list of all his writings, in the form of books, monographs and articles on subjects of Indian Painting, Sculpture and Iconography. Suffice it to say that his work, like that of a true genius, was marked by remarkable quantity and quality.

A firm believer in the traditionally cultivated arts and crafts of India (on which he published a book in 1913) and in Swadesi (on which he published some essays) Coomaraswamy lent his support (vide his contribution in the Hindu, Independence Number, August 15, 1947) to craft-based educational reorganisation. This took him on to a study in general of the Hindu pattern of social organisation, Hindu philosophy and Buddhistic philosophy, on all of which he wrote articles and books. For a time he was engaged in a deep study of medaevial christian aesthetic and its remarkable affinity with Indian aesthetic; to this subject too, he made valuable contribution.

Vedic philological *cum* philosohpical enquiries claimed his attention for some time but these studies of his did not command that wide support which his other writings did.

Unfortunately, even as his valuable collection of Indian art, his services too could not be had in the land he loved and strove all his life to interpret from his distant study in the Museum of Boston, U.S.A.

ERRATA

Vol. XVI, pt. 1, p. 30, lines 27-29: Read the quotation from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad as follows:

न्यग्रोधफलमत आहर (इति) । इदं भगवः (इति) । भिन्धि (इति) । भिन्नं भगवः (इति) । किमत्र पश्यासि (इति) । अण्व्य इवेमा धाना भगवः (इति) । आसामङ्गैकां भिन्धि (इति) । भिन्ना भगवः (इति) । किमत्र पश्यासि (इति) । न किञ्चन भगवः (इति) ।

Ibid., p. 47, lines 19-20: Read "They are composed in equally chaste Sanskrit."

Ibid., p. 70, line 15: Read the date of demise of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu as August 31st, 1947.

PRIZES FOR BOOKS ON HINDU CULTURE AND RELIGION

Besides the Prize of Rs. 1,000 for the book on Hindu Culture and Religion already announced in the last issue of this Journal by the undersigned, a sum of Rs. 500 will be awarded by Sri R. Srinivasa Iyer, Advocate, Trichinopoly, for the second best book. The condition for submission of manuscripts, and for the selection and award of the prize will be the same as for the Prize of Rs. 1,000.

AMRITA VILAS,
Madras 10
25—2—1948

M. SUBRAHMANYAM,
Retired Accountant General.

INDIAN CULTURE ESSAY COMPETITION

THE BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Sanskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competitions which have been started in 1945. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25) are to be awarded. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded to the best and second best essay respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below. The branches of study given below in brackets are neither exhaustive divisions of the groups nor topics for essays in themselves, but are intended only to give a general idea of each group to a layman. The Bhavan will also award additional prizes if a large number of essays are received.

(1) Religion and Philosophy (Buddhistic, Jaina, Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Samkhya-Yoga, Vedanta, Mimamsa, Vyakarana,. etc.).

(2) Art and Architecture (Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina, etc.).

(3) Languages, Literature (Samskrita, Prakrita, Apabhramsha, Modern Indian Vernaculars, etc.), Linguistics and Literary Criticism.

(4) History (Political).

(5) Social and Economic Order.

(6) One gold and one silver medal have been specially donated for the best and next best essay on "Bhagavad Gita and Life."

CONDITIONS

1. The essays must be submitted by the end of December, 1948.
2. Each essay must cover approximately 150 pages of foolscap sheets typed in double spacing (Single side only).
3. The copyright of the gold medal essays will vest in the Bhavan subject to minor privileges to the authors.
4. The manuscript which should have temporary binding must bear the nom-de-plume of the contributor on the cover page and strict care should be taken to avoid disclosing the identity of the contributor. A sealed envelope bearing the nom-de-plume of the competitor on the outside and containing a slip giving his name and full address as also the nom-de-plume should be sent along with each essay.
5. Each contributor is allowed to choose the subject he prefers.
6. The decision of the judges selected by the Bhavan will be final.
7. The prize-winning essays will normally be kept in the Bhavan.
8. Though every care will be taken of the MSS. no responsibility attaches to the Bhavan in respect of them and authors are advised to keep duplicate copies with them.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
Chowpatty Rd., Bombay 7.
14*th April* 1948.

J. H. Dave,
Hon. Registrar.

7. குறிஞ்சி
கூதிர் யாம மென்மனார் புலவர்.
Kuṟiñci
Kūtir yāma m-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that *Kuṟiñci* is applied to *śarad-ṛtu* or autumn and second third part of the night.

Note 1. *Śarad-ṛtu* consists of the months of *Aippaci* and *Kārttikai*.

Note 2. *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam*, Damodaram Pillai edition, reads *vaikaṟai* and Bhavanandam Pillai edition reads *viṭiyal*.

8. பனியெதிர் பருவமு முரித்தென மொழிப.
Paṉi-y-etir paruvam-u m-uritt-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that the *hēmanta-ṛtu* or the first half of the dewy season also deserves to be taken under *Kuṟiñci*.

Note 1. The word *Kuṟiñci* is taken here from the previous sūtra and is changed to *kuṟiñcikkù*.

Note 2. The mention of *paṉi-y-etir-paruvam* in a separate sūtra suggests that *Kuṟiñci* is applied primarily only to *kūtir*.

Note 3. *Hēmanta-ṛtu* consists of the months of *Mārkaḻi* and *Tai*.

Note 4. The statement in *Naccinārkkiṉiyam* '*urittu eṉṟataṉāṟ kūtir-peṟṟa yāmam-um muṉ-paṉi peṟṟu varum eṉa-k koḷka*' does not seem to be sound, since *yāmam* refers to the second third part of the night and *muṉ* in *muṉ-paṉi* refers to the first third part of the night.

9. வைகறை விடியன் மருதம்.
Vaikaṟai viṭiyaṉ marutam.

Marutam is applied to the last third part of the night and daybreak.

Note 1. *Naccinārkkiṉiyam* reads *vaikuṟu-viṭiyal* and takes it as *ummaittokai* of *vaikuṟutal* and *viṭiyal*, where *tal* of the former is dropped. The term *vaikuṟu-viṭiyal* is used in *vaikuṟu-viṭiyal-iyampiya col-l-ē* (Puṟanā. 253) to denote 'early dawn.'

Note 2. The *perum-poḻutù* is not mentioned here. Hence all the seasons of the year may be taken under *marutam*.

Note 3. This sūtra and the next which deals with *neytal* are read as one sūtra in the *Naccinārkkiṉiyam*.

Note 4. The word *vaikarai* is, according to some, used to denote daybreak also. *Cf*. Tamil Lexicon.

10. எற்பாடு
நெய்த லாதன் மெய்பெறத் தோன்றும்.
Erpāṭu
Neyta l-ātan mey-pera-t tōnrum.

Neytal is applied to afternoon.

Note 1. *Iḷampūraṇar* says that, since *perum-polutu* is not mentioned, all the seasons of the year may be taken under *neytal*. The same idea is mentioned in page 25 of Iraiyanār-Akapporuḷ. *Naccinārkkiniyar*, on the other hand, says that the expression *meypera* in the sūtra suggests that spring, summer and winter are the *perum-polutu* with reference to *marutam* and *neytal*.

Note 2. The statement in the *Naccinārkkiniyam* at the end '*itanpayan ivviraṇṭu nilattukku marrai mūnru kālam-um perumpānmai vāratenralām* is an interpolation since the same idea has been mentioned before.

Note 3. The expression *poruḷ pera* in Bhavanandam Pillai edition of the Naccinārkkiniyam should be *mey pera*.

Note: 4. The word *erpāṭu* began to be used to denote morning also. *Cf*. Tamil Lexicon.

11. நடுவு நிலைத் திணையே நண்பகல் வேனிலொடு
முடிவுநிலை மருங்கின் முன்னிய நெறித்தே.
Naṭuvu-nilai-t tiṇai-y-ē naṇpakal vēnilotu
Muṭivu - nilai maruṅkin munniya nerittē.

The *tiṇai* in the middle has for its region that which is suited to the middle part of the day associated with spring and summer.

Note 1. *Naṭuvu - nilai-t-tiṇai* is taken to mean *pālai*. *Pālai* is not mentioned in any of the previous sūtras, though the first sūtra refers to seven *tiṇais* and the second sūtra refers to that which is in the middle among the five leaving *kaikkiḷai* and *peruntiṇai*. But in *Purattiṇai-y-iyal* we find

Vākai tān-e pālaiyatu puran-ē (Tol-Poruḷ. 73) where *pālai* is said to be the *akattiṇai* having its corresponding *purattiṇai* in *vākai*. Hence we have to infer that *pālai* is the fourth in the list of seven akattiṇais. Since Tolkāppiyanār does not mention all the seven in order in the first sūtra, it

is clear that the enumeration of the same in a particular order was done by his predecessors.

Note 2. *Naḷ + pakal* has to become naṭ-pakal ; for the sakc of euphony, the nasal *ṇ* is substituted for the voiceless *ṭ*.[1]

Note. 3. Since the word *vēṉil* alone is used without the adjunct *iḷa* or *mutu*, it refers to both. *Iḷavēṉil* refers to the Tamil months *Cittirai* and *Vaikāci* and *mutuvēṉil* to *Āṉi* and *Āṭi*.

Note 4. Since *perum-poḻutù* occupies a position superior to *ciṟupoḻutù*, the suffix *oṭu* is used with *vēṉil* and *naṇ-pakal*.

Note 5. The expression *muṭivu-nilai-maruṇkin* is taken to mean 'in the company of' by Iḷampūraṇar and 'in the land suited to (pālai) *i. e.* *kuṟiñci* and *mullai* by Naccinārk-kiṉiyar ; he takes *nilai* to mean *nilam*. The expression *muṉṉiya neṟittē* is taken by Iḷampūraṇar to mean 'has the region thought over (by the author)'.

12. பின்பனி தானு முரித்தென மொழிப.
Piṉ-paṉi tāṉ-u m-uritt-eṉa moḻipa.
They say that *śiśira-ṛtu* also is suited to it.

Note 1. *Piṉ-paṉi* refers to the months *Māci* and *Paṅkuṉi*.

Mote 2. Iḷampūraṇar thinks that, since that author has mentioned *piṉ-paṉi* in a separate sutra, it is not so important as *vēṉil*.

Note 3. Naccinārkkiṉiyam says that the word *tāṉ* in the sūtra suggests that there is no *ciṟu-poḻutù* with reference to *piṉ-paṉi* ; but the words *tāṉ* and *tām* are used generally for euphony by Tolkāppiyaṉār. *Cf.*

Ākkan tāṉē kāraṇa mutaṟṟē (Tol. Col. 21).
Ukaran tāṉē kuṟṟiya l-ukaram (*Ibid.* 123).
Vēṟṟumai tām-ē y-ēḻ-eṉa moḻipa (*Ibid.* 62).

Hence the last three lines in Naccinārkkiṉiyam seems to be an interpolation.

Then arose the question whether there is the possibility for the *tiṇais* to have *nilam* and *poḻutù* other than what are mentioned above. This is answered in the next *sūtra*.

13. திணைமயக் குறுதலுங் கடிநிலை யிலவே
நிலனொருங்கு மயங்குத லில்லென மொழிப
புலனன் குணர்ந்த புலமை யோரே.

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1. This is sanctioned in Tol. Col. 403.

Tiṇai-mayak k-uṟutaluṅ kaṭi-nilai y-ila-v-ē
Nilaṉ-oruṅku mayaṅkuta l-il-l-eṉa moḻipa
Pulaṉaṉ k-uṇarnta pulamai y-ōrē.

Those who are well-versed in literature say that there is no restriction for the overlapping of *tiṇai*, though *nilaṉ* with reference to each *tiṇai*, never changes.

From this it is understood that the *season* mentioned above may overlap.

Note 1. Both Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar differ in their interpretation of this sūtra. According to the former, the idea conveyed in this sūtra is that, of the *mutaṟ-poruḷ*, season alone may overlap; and according to the latter, season among the *mutaṟ-poruḷ*, *karupporuḷ* and *uripporuḷ* may overlap. The reason for the same is the difference in their interpretation of the word *tiṇai* in this sūtra. Since *mutaṟ-poruḷ* has been mentioned with reference to each *tiṇai*, Iḷampūraṇar takes it in the sense *tiṇai-mutaṟporuḷ* ; since *tiṇai* is the name common to *mutaṟ-poruḷ*, *karu-p-poruḷ* and *uri-p-poruḷ*, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar takes it to mean all the three. The reason for the difference in their interpretation is that Iḷampūraṇar thinks that *uripporuḷ* will never overlap while Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar thinks that even it may overlap. Hence they give different meanings to the next sūtra.

Note 2. *Iṉṟu* instead of *il* in the second line is the reading adopted in *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam.*

Note 3. *Uṟutal*, the subject, in the first line is singular and *ila*, the predicate, is in plural.

Note 4. Even though there are two sentences in the sūtra, they should be construed as one sentence making the former a subordinate clause, as in the first sūtra in *Collati-kāram.*

Note 5. *Pulaṉ* means *lakṣya.* This line suggests that there was vast literature in Tamil before *Tolkāppiyaṉār.*

Note 6. The sutra *'Iru-vakai-p-pirivum......pulavar'* is taken to precede this sūtra both in *Iḷampūraṇam* and *Nacciṉārk-kiṉiyam.* But I think that this may precede the sūtra " *Koṇṭu-talai-k-kaḻitalum......*', since the latter may be taken to explain the former. Besides the two kinds of *pirivu* mentioned in the former do not follow the sūtras 11 and 12. Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation of *tiṇai* as *tiṇai-mutaṟ-poruḷ* in this sūtra may

be appropriate if the sūtra '*iru-vakai-p-piruvam...*' does not intervene between the twelfth sūtra and the sūtra '*Tiṇai-mayakk-uṟutalum...*'

Will *karupporuḷ* and *uripporuḷ* overlap? The answer is:

14. உரிப்பொரு ளல்லன மயங்கவும் பெறுமே.
Uripporu ḷ-allaṉa mayaṅkavuṃ peṟum-ē.
Those other than *uri-p-poruḷ*, i.e. *karu-p-poruḷ* may overlap.

Note 1. The particle *um* suggests that overlapping is rare.

Note 2. *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* has to give a different interpretaion to this sūtra, since what is said by *Iḷampūraṇar* here is included by the former in the previous sūtra. Hence he takes *uri-p-poruḷ-allaṉa* in the sense *tiṇais* other than those which have *uripporuḷ* i.e., *kaikkiḷai* and *peruntiṇai*. Since Tolkāppiyaṉār has nowhere mentioned *mutaṟ-poruḷ*, *karu-p-poruḷ* and *uri-p-poruḷ* for them, there is no chance for one to overlap with another. Besides interpreting *uri-p-poruḷ* in one way in this sūtra and in a different way in the next does not do justice to Tolkāppiyaṉār. Hence Naccinārkkiṉiyar's interpretation of this sūtra and the previous one deserves to be scrutinised by scholars. Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation is held by the commentator on *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*.

Note 3. Naccinārkkiṉiyar states that the particle *um* in the sūtra suggests that *pālai* also may have reference to four regions. Since this is suggested by the word *neṟi* in the 9th sūtra, this is also unecessary.

What are the *uri-p-poruḷs* then?

15. புணர்தல் பிரித லிருத்த லிரங்கல்
ஊட லவற்றி னிமித்த மென்றிவை
தேருங் காலைத் திணைக்குரிப் பொருளே.
Puṇartal pirita l-irutta l-iraṅkal
Ūṭa l-avaṟṟi ṉimitta m-eṉṟ-ivai
Tēruṅ kālai-t tiṇaikk-uri-p poruḷ-ē.

The *uripporuḷ* to the *tiṇais* are, on examination, *puṇartal* or company (of lovers), *piṟital* or separation, *iruttal* or the state expecting the lover's arrival, *iraṅkal* or the state bemoaning the lover's absence, and *ūṭal* or love-quarrel and their causes.

Note 1. Since the order of *uripporuḷ* of each *tiṇai* in this sūtra does not agree with the *nilam* and presiding deity of

each *tiṇai* in the 5th sūtra, there is difficulty in apportioning each *uripporuḷ* to particular *tiṇai*. The difficulty has to be solved only from tradition that *puṇartal, pirital, iruttal, iraṅkal* and *ūṭal* are respectively the *uripporuḷ* of *kuriñci, pālai, mullai, neytal* and *marutam*. But Iḷampūraṇar comes to this conclusion mostly through the *tantra-yukti* '*moḻinta poruḷoṭu oṉṟa vaittal*' and Naccinārkkiniyar, through the suggesting capacity of *tēruṅkālai*.

Note 2. The order of *uripporuḷs* in this sūtra is very natural. *Pirital* happens only after the agreement of the lovers to marry, *iruttal, iraṅkal* and *ūṭal* happen only after marriage.

Note: 3. The author might have read in sūtra 5 the second line as the first, the first line as the second, the third as the fourth and the fourth as the third. Since *Māyōṉ* is elder to *Cēyōṉ* and *Vēntaṉ* holds a higher position than *Varuṇaṉ*, the author, perhaps, has preferred the existing order.

How many kinds of separation are there?

16. இருவகைப் பிரிவு நிலைபெறத் தோன்றலும்
உரிய தாகு மென்மனார் புலவர்.

Iru-vakai-p pirivu nilai-peṟat-t tōṉṟalum
Uriya t-āku m-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that separation may be classified in two ways.

Note 1. Naccinārkkiniyam reads *tōṉṟiṉum* in place of *tōṉṟalum*.

Note 2. Naccinārkkiniyar takes *piṉ-paṉi* from sūtra 10 and makes it the subject of *uriyatu ākum*; *iruvakai-p-pirivu*, he takes it, to refer to the separation by land and the separation by sea. Hence his meaning to this sutra is 'learned men say that *śiśira-ṛtu* is proper to the separation both by land and sea.' He takes *nilai-peṟa* to mean 'according to their position'. It is not quite clear why he has interpreted this sūtra in that way.

Note: 3. Naccinārkkiniyar tells us that *ākum* in the sūtra suggests that even brahmans when they were unable to eke their livelihood could go to foreign lands through sea.

What are those two kinds of separation?

17. கொண்டுதலைக் கழிதலும் பிரிந்தவ ணிரங்கலும்
உண்டென மொழிப வோரிடத் தான.

Koṇṭu-talai-k kaḻital-um pirint-ava ṇ-iraṅkalum
Uṇṭ-eṉa moḻipa v-ōriṭat t-āṉ-a.

They say that taking away (the lady love) with him and both pining after the separation of the object of love come under one class.

Note 1. Naccinārkkiniyam reads *kaliyinum* and *iraṅkinum* in place of *kalitalum* and *iraṅkalum*.

Note 2. Iḷampūraṇar thinks that *koṇṭu-talai-k-kalital* is concerned with *pālai-t-tiṇai* and *pirint-avaṇ-iraṅkal* with *peruntiṇai*. It seems that the arrangement of the sūtras is against the latter half of his view. *Ōr-iṭattāṉa* is taken by him to mean only in one *tiṇai*.

Note 3. Naccinārkkiniyar splits this sūtra into two: *Koṇṭu-talai-kaliyinum pirintu avaṇ irankinum ōr-iṭattāṉa*; *uṇṭu eṉa molipa* and the second part means to him that this holds good to *Vēḷāḷas* among the four castes. There are three defects in this:—One is sentence-split or *vākyabhēda*, the other is there are not necessary words in the sūtra to give that meaning to the second part and the third is how *koṇṭu-talai-k-kalital* alone is taken to be the subject of *uṇṭu*.

Note: 4. The singular verb *uṇṭu* is used when the subject refers to two. Under what *tiṇai* should the mental attitude of the lover before his love is reciprocated by the lady be taken?

18. கலந்த பொழுதுங் காட்சியு மன்ன.
Kalanta polutuṅ kāṭci-y-u m-aṉṉa.

The mental attitude of the lover both on seeing the lady and meeting her is of the same clase, i.e., *pālai-t-tiṇai.*

Note 1. *Kalanta polutu* and *kāṭci* denote *kalanta-polutu nikalum maṉa-nikaṭci* and *kāṭciyil nikalum maṉa-nikalacci* and hence they are *ākupeyar*. They are taken, by Naccinārkkiniyar, to mean the time of their union by mutual consent and the time of their meeting.

Note 2. The meanings given by *Iḷampūraṇar* and *Naccinārkkiniyar* are totally different. The former takes *aṉṉa* to mean *ōr-iṭattāṉa* where *iṭam*, he says, refers to *kaikkiḷai*. Since *kaikkiḷai* refers to the mental condition of the lover when his love is not reciprocated, and at the stage when he sees the lady, it is not certain whether his love will be reciprocated or not, I do not agree with his view. *Naccinārkkiniyar* takes *aṉṉa* to mean '*have the same time as koṇṭu-talai-k-kalital*'; since the previous sūtra according to him, deals only with the classification of *pālai*, and the *prakaraṇa*

is with reference to *uri-p-poruḷ*, his interpretation seems to be far fetched.

What, then, are karupporuḷs?

19. முதலெனப் படுவ தாயிரு வகைத்தே
தெய்வ முணாவே மாமரம் புட்பறை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியொடு தொகைஇ
அவ்வகை பிறவுங் கருவென மொழிப.
Mutal-eṉa-p paṭuva t-ā-y-iru vakaittē
Teyva m-uṇā-v-ē māmaram puṭ-paṟai
Ceyti yāḻiṉ pakutiyoṭu tokai-i
A-v-vakai piṟa-v-uṅ karu-v-eṉa moḻipa.

The deity, food, beast, tree, bird, drum, profession, paṇ or the melody-type of yāḻ, etc., found in the two kinds of *mutaṟ-poruḷ* are said to be *karu-p-poruḷ*.

Note: 1. The first line is taken to be a separate sūtra by Iḷampūraṇar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar. Both of them feel that, in that case, the idea contained is only the repetition of the content of the 4th sūtra. The suggestion by the repetition stated by Iḷampūraṇar is not clear. Naccinārkkiṉiyar states that *kaikkiḷai, peruntiṇai* and *pālai* take the land and season of the *tiṇai* with which they are associated.

Note 2. The first line here tells us that the *karu-p-poruḷ* changes not only in different regions but also in different seasons in the same region. It should be interpreted thus: ā-y-iruvakaittu (āṉa)' mutal eṉappaṭu vataṉkaṇ.

Note 3. It is to be noted that *tiṇai-nilai-makkaḷ* or the permanent residents of each *tiṇai* are not mentioned here, though they are mentioned in the sūtras that follow the next. They have to be taken under the word *piṟa* in this sūtra.

Note 4. The deities of the four *tiṇais, kuriñci, mullai, neytal* and *marutam* have been mentioned in the sūtra 5. *Iḷampūraṇar* says that *Durgā* is the deity of *pālai* and *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* says that *pālai* takes for its deity that of the *tiṇai* with which it is associated.

Note 5. *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* tells in his commentary under the 5th sūtra that *vakai* in this sūtra suggests that each *tiṇai* has its subordinate deities.

Note 6. Tolkāppiyaṉār has not mentioned the food etc. with reference to each *tiṇai*; they are mentioned in detail only by the commentators with varation here and there.

AVANTI-SUNDARĪ-KATHĀ-SĀRA

Avanti-sundarī-kathā is a prose work of Daṇḍin, of which the extant Daśakumāracarita is a part; but only fragments of the manuscript of this precious work have hitherto been unearthed. A metrical summary, by a later hand, of Daṇḍin's work almost in Daṇḍin's own words, called Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra was published by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri in 1924, in the Dakṣiṇa Bhāratī Series. In the absence of the original work, the Kathāsāra or summary is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Daṇḍin. But the published text, based as it was on an imperfect ms. from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, was full of gaps and errors interspersed with query marks; and no wonder that it did not attract the attention it deserved at the hands of scholars, and made some of them doubt the authenticity of Daṇḍin's original work. I have since come across another ms. of the work in Malayalam characters which fills up the gaps and reduces the errors of the printed text to a large extent. The narrative goes up to the middle of the story of Apahāravarman as it is found in the second Uchhvāsa of the Daśakumāracarita proper and brings it out clearly that the so-called Pūrvapīṭhikā prefixed to the Daśakumāracarita is a patch work of the earlier portion of Daṇḍin's original work. When I was preparing a revised edition of the Kathāsāra, Dr. V. Raghavan was kind enough to place at my disposal his manuscript of the work, which is a Devanāgarī transcript from an original palm-leaf manuscript with Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. This manuscript is of the same extent as the printed text and begins with a table of contents in prose for the first chapter, and offers many good variants. The Kathāsāra holds interesting information to the students of Samskrit studies and sheds fresh light on the problem of the Daśakumāracarita. No apology is therefore needed in bringing out a fresh edition of the work. This edition is based on the collation of the two manuscripts and the printed text mentioned; and the variants are marked in the foot notes by the letters क, ख and ग respectively.

G. HARIHARA SASTRI

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ अवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारः ॥

प्रथमः परिच्छेदः

वन्दे मन्दाकिनीवारिमकरन्दपरिप्लुतम् ।
सानन्दसुरनेत्रालि मुकुन्दपदपङ्कजम् ॥ १ ॥

नमः कन्दर्पदर्पघ्नज्वलज्ज्वलनचक्षुषे ।
लसद्गिरिसुतासक्तवपुषे चन्द्रमौलये ॥ २ ॥

मन्मुखे सुखविन्यस्तसविलासपदक्रमा ।
हंसीव विहरन्ती स्तात् सरसीव सरस्वती ॥ ३ ॥

जयत्यखिलसल्लाँपरत्नराशिसमुद्भवः ।
भारतामृतसंभूतिः पाराशर्यपयोनिधिः ॥ ४ ॥

सद्गुणोदयसंक्षुण्णो दोषागमविजृम्भितः ।
अन्धकार इवाहन्ति कष्टं दृष्टिफलं खलः ॥ ५ ॥

विशुद्धिमत्पक्षपाताः श्रितनिर्मलमानसाः ।
हंसा इव मनः सन्तो हरन्ति मधुरैः स्वनैः ॥ ६ ॥

सन्तः सर्वहितार्थानां(य?) खलास्त्वखिलवैरिणः ।
तदुभावनुसृत्यालं वृथा विरमतु श्रमः ॥ ७ ॥

मधुरोक्तिमणिश्रेणीगहनार्थमहाह्रदः ।
केनायमतिलङ्घ्येत गम्भीरः काव्यसागरः ॥ ८ ॥

अवगच्छन्नयं शब्दान् कथञ्चिदपि पञ्चषान् ।
कवितामुत्सहे वोढुमहो मोहपरम्परा ॥ ९ ॥

सत्कथाकथनप्रीत्या तथापि कथयाम्यहम् ।
कान्तामवन्तिसुन्दर्याः कथामनतिविस्तराम् ॥ १० ॥

अस्ति प्रासादविस्तारग्रस्तव्योमान्तरा पुरी ।
काञ्चीपुराख्या कल्याणी ककुभः कुम्भजन्मनः ॥ ११ ॥

या भृत्यविगलद्भोगैरसंख्यवसुभिर्जनैः ।
भोगवत्यमरावत्यौ न्यक्कुर्वाणेव गर्विता ॥ १२ ॥

तस्यां जज्ञे बुधव्रातध्वस्ताखिलविपल्लवः ।
पल्लवेषु महीपालः सिंहविष्णुरिति श्रुतः ॥ १३ ॥

गरिम्णा स्थावरान् सर्वानोजसा जङ्गमानपि ।
यो विजिग्ये भुजश्लाघी भूभर्तॄनुभयानपि ॥ १४ ॥

अदृष्टपूर्वो गन्धर्वस्तं सभासदमेकदा ।
उदञ्जलिर्महीपालमुपावीणयदार्यया ॥ १५ ॥

" दनुजपतिहृदयभूधर-
विभेदविज्ञातशक्तिनखकुलिशम् ।
जगदुदयहेतु विष्णो-
रवतु वपुर्नारसिंहं वः " ॥ १६ ॥

श्रुत्वैनामत्युदारार्थां कुतूहलबलात्कृतः ।
अब्रवीद्भद्र ! केनेयं निर्मिता वर्णपद्धतिः ॥ १७ ॥

इत्यूचिवांसं प्रत्यूचे गन्धर्वस्तं धरे[1]श्वरम् ।
देव ! स्वनुगृहीतोऽस्मि श्रूयतामवधानतः ॥ १८ ॥

अस्त्यानन्दपुरं नाम प्रदेशे[2] पश्चिमोत्तरे ।
आर्यदेशशिखारत्नं तत्रासन् बहवो द्विजाः ॥ १९ ॥

ततोऽभिनिःसृता काचित् कौशिकब्रह्मसन्ततिः ।
ब्रह्मलोकादिवायान्ती पुण्यतीर्था सरस्वती ॥ २० ॥

नासिक्यभूमावौत्सुक्यान्मूलदेवनिवेशिताम् ।
प्राप्याचलपुरं नाम पुरीमधिवसत्यसौ ॥ २१ ॥

तस्यां नारायणस्वामिनाम्नो नारायणोदरात् ।
दामोदर इति श्रीमानादिदेव इवाभवत् ॥ २२ ॥

स मेधावी कविर्विद्वान् भारविं[3] प्रभवं गिराम् ।
अनुरुध्याकरोन्मैत्रीं नरेन्द्रे विष्णुवर्धने ॥ २३ ॥

क्षुधाविष्टेन तद्द्विद्धमामिषं मृगयान्तरे ।
अनिष्टशिष्टं हा ! कष्टं तेनाभोज्यमभुज्यत ॥ २४ ॥

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1. ने. ग. 2. शः क. ख. 3. विः. ग.

अगच्छन्नन्तिकं पित्रोः सत्रपस्तीर्थयात्रया ।
चरन् गोचरमापेदे कस्यापि शुभजन्मनः ॥ २५ ॥

स दुर्विनीतनामासीदनन्वर्थाभिधानवान् ।
तस्यान्तिके वसत्येष तेनार्येयमुदीरिता ॥ २६ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा महीपालस्तदालोकनलोलुपः ।
अनेकश्रीमुखाकृष्टमकरोदमुमात्मसात् ॥ २७ ॥

स्वनिर्विशेषैरुर्वीशस्तमाचारैरतोषयत् ।
अभूषयच्च भूपालमग्राम्यैः स सुभाषितैः ॥ २८ ॥

नृपनिर्बन्धनिर्दिष्टे प्रकृष्टविभवे गृहे ।
वहतः पैतृकीं वृत्तिं तस्यासीत् तनयत्रयम् ॥ २९ ॥

मनोरथाह्वयस्तेषां मध्यमो वंशवर्धनः ।
ततस्तनूजाश्चत्वारः स्रष्टुर्वेदा इवाभवन् ॥ ३० ॥

श्रीवीरदत्त इत्येषामुत्तमस्तत्त्ववेदिनाम् ।
यवीयानस्य च श्लाघ्या गौरीनामाभवत् प्रिया ॥ ३१ ॥

ततः कथञ्चित् सा गौरी द्विजाधिपशिखामणेः ।
कुमारं दण्डिनामानं व्यक्तशक्तिमजीजनत् ॥ ३२ ॥

स बाल एव मात्रा च पित्रा चापि व्ययुज्यत ।
अयुज्यत गरीयस्या सरस्वत्या श्रुतेन च ॥ ३३ ॥

सविक्रिये पुरे तस्मिन् परचक्रोपरोधतः ।
स चचार शुभाचारः सर्वामुर्वीमुदारधीः ॥ ३४ ॥

अथाश्रमेष्वधीयानः शास्त्रेषु च कृतश्रमः ।
पश्यन् पुण्यान्यरण्यानि न्यवसद्दिवसान् बहून् ॥ ३५ ॥

अथाहूतः क्षितीशेन प्रशान्तोपद्रवे पुरे ।
स्वसुहृद्बन्धुमध्यस्थः स भेजे निजमास्पदम् ॥ ३६ ॥

एकदा वास्तुशास्त्रज्ञस्तक्षमर्मविचक्षणः ।
स्थपतिः कश्चिदभ्येत्य प्रणिपत्योपतस्थिवान् ॥ ३७ ॥

अनल्पाः कल्पिताश्चित्रा विकल्पाः शिल्पकर्मणाम् ।
अत्र त्वष्टामुनैवेत्थं तत्रस्थास्तमशंसिषुः ॥ ३८ ॥

स तु शिल्पिवरस्तेषामाक्षिप्य स्तुतिमात्मनः ।
मूर्धन्यञ्जलिमाबध्नन्नथ दण्डिनमभ्यधात् ॥ ३९ ॥

अस्ति विज्ञाप्यमस्माकमनुग्राह्योऽस्मि यद्यहम् ।
प्रार्थनां वितथीकर्तुं प्रभवो न भवादृशाः ॥ ४० ॥

महामल्लपुरे देवः स्वैरं वारिधिसन्निधौ ।
आस्ते मुकुन्दः सानन्दं फणीन्द्र इव मन्दिरे ॥ ४१ ॥

भग्नः केनापि तस्यासीत् कारणेना[1]सुरद्विषः ।
मणिबन्धे महान्[2] बाहुः स मया सन्धितोऽधुना ॥ ४२ ॥

तदालोकितुमर्हन्ति भवन्तः साधु वा न वा ।
एतावता प्रयासेन प्रसादातिशयोऽस्तु नः ॥ ४३ ॥

श्रुत्वा सेनापतेः पुत्रः कलाकौशलपेशलः ।
पार्श्ववर्ती परां मैत्रीं बिभ्रद्दण्डिनमभ्यधात् ॥ ४४ ॥

आर्य संभाव्यतामस्य स्थपतेः प्रणयस्त्वया ।
अपि च स्पृहणीयं ते सुहृदामपि दर्शनम् ॥ ४५ ॥

मित्राणि मातृदत्ताद्याः केरळेभ्यो द्विजोत्तमाः ।
त्वद्दर्शनार्थमायातास्तस्मिन् सन्निदधत्यमी ॥ ४६ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा ततः प्रीतस्तं विसृज्य परेऽहनि ।
सुहृद्भिः सह तं देशं ययौ तेन च शिल्पिना ॥ ४७ ॥

अथोत्तरङ्गभङ्गालीवेल्लसद्बाहुलीलया ।
नृत्यन्तमिव गम्भीरमम्भोराशिं ददर्श सः ॥ ४८ ॥

ततः सागरकल्लोलक्षिप्तक्षोदाम्बुचुम्बिना ।
सेव्यमानः सुखामोदक्षारिणा वनवायुना ॥ ४९ ॥

तत्रोदारं मुदापश्यन्नदूरे राजमन्दिरम् ।
गच्छन् वेलापथेनाथ प्रपेदे मन्दिरं हरेः ॥ ५० ॥

तरङ्गबाहुसंवाह्यचरणाम्बुरुहद्वयम् ।
उदन्वता मुदाविष्टो ददर्श मुरशासनम् ॥ ५१ ॥

प्रविश्य प्रतिमाभ्यर्णं गत्वा निर्वर्णयन्नयम् ।
नाध्यगच्छत् सुसंहत्या सन्धानं मणिबन्धके ॥ ५२ ॥

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1. न मु. क. 2. द्वाबा ग.

तस्यापहसितत्वष्टुस्तक्षकर्मणि शिक्षया ।
विस्मितोऽयं स्मितं कुर्वन्नर्घ्यैरर्चयति स्म तम् ॥ ५३ ॥

तस्मिन् काले जलोद्देशे ददृशे रक्तवारिजम् ।
उदयारुणमार्तण्डमण्डलाकारि वारिधेः ॥ ५४ ॥

तत्तु प्रत्यक्षमेवैषां तरङ्गप्रेरितं हरेः ।
चरणाम्बुरुहस्पर्शात् सद्यो विद्याधरोऽभवत् ॥ ५५ ॥

ततः किरीटी केयूरी कृपाणी कवची च सः ।
भूत्वा तर[1]स्वी भूतेशं प्रणम्योदपतद्दिवम् ॥ ५६ ॥

दृष्ट्वा दण्डिनमाचष्ट स्नेहादिष्टतमः सुहृत् ।
गौरीपुत्रोऽपि नन्वेतद्विस्पष्टं दृष्टवानिति ॥ ५७ ॥

पश्यन्नाश्चर्यरूपं तं[2] चिन्तयित्वा किमित्यसौ ।
कौतुकाकृष्टदृष्टिभ्यस्तेभ्यः संभाव्यमभ्यधात् ॥ ५८ ॥

पद्मसंबन्धिनो नूनममुना मुनिशापतः ।
पद्मीभूय प्रमुक्तेन भाव्यं दिव्येन केनचित् ॥ ५९ ॥

अथ वा देवमाराध्य प्रसादान्मुरशासनम् ।
अत्याहितमिदं वेत्तुमत्यर्थमहमुत्सहे ॥ ६० ॥

ततः स्वभवनं गत्वा दर्भशय्यामुपेयुषे ।
कथयामास तत्सर्वं भूतार्थं भूतभावनः ॥ ६१ ॥

पृथुकान्तिमवन्तिसुन्दरीति
प्रथितां विक्रमरक्त[3]राजहंसाम् ।
सरसां रहसि प्रियामिवार्द्रा-
मुपलेभे पुरुषोत्तमप्रसादात् ॥ ६२ ॥

मुक्त्वा शय्यां मिलितपुलकव्रातमुत्थाय भूयः
प्राप्तानन्दो विरतिसमये प्राक्तनीनां क्रियाणाम् ।
स प्रारेभे सपदि सकलां स्वप्नलब्धां सुहृद्भ्यः
शुश्रूषुभ्यः पृथुमथ कथां विस्तरेणाभिधातुम् ॥ ६३ ॥

॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥

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1. प. क. 2. तचि. क. 3. ल. ग.

॥ अथ द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

अथालोक्य स्थितान् [1]सर्वान् कथाश्रवणकाङ्क्षया ।
रथाङ्गिणं प्रणम्यासौ मिथस्तानभ्यभाषत ॥ १ ॥
अस्ति चे[2]दीप्सितं श्रोतुं चेतः कौतुकशालि वः ।
अवधानात् कथामेनामाकर्णयत वर्णये ॥ २ ॥
आसन्नासन्नपुण्ड्रेक्षुश्रीमद्व्रीधूमशालयः ।
आधारः सर्वभूतानां मगधा नाम भूमयः ॥ ३ ॥
शुभ्रैरभ्रंकषैस्तत्र प्राकारागारगोपुरैः ।
रम्या पुण्यैरिवागण्यैः पुरी पुष्पपुरीत्यभूत् ॥ ४ ॥
विभ्रमः सुदृशां यस्यां नद्ये[3]ष सरसामपि ।
अत्यागः प्रणयक्रोधे नहि दारेषु विस्मृतः ॥ ५ ॥
तस्यां राजा लघूकुर्वन् सर्वद्वीपोर्वराभरम् ।
राजहंस इति श्रीमान् राजराज इवाभवत् ॥ ६ ॥
यः प्रवृद्धप्रतापाग्नौ निर्दहन् द्विषदिन्धनम् ।
तद्भस्मनेव त्रैलोक्यं व्यलिम्पद्यशसा भृशम् ॥ ७ ॥
सचिवेषु विनिक्षिप्य प्रचितप्रेमवृत्तिषु ।
अवजित्याथ(त्त ?) भूभारं स भोगेषु धियं दधे ॥ ८ ॥
देवी वसुमतीत्यासीत् तस्यासुभ्योऽपि वल्लभा ।
उत्तमस्त्रीचरित्राणामुपदेष्ट्री स्वचेष्टितैः ॥ ९ ॥
तस्यामन्यासु च प्रीत्या ललितप्रेमकान्तिषु ।
रममाणं क्रमेणैनमुपतस्थुरथर्तवः ॥ १० ॥
सहकारतरुश्रेणीविलसन्मुकु[4]लाञ्जलिः ।
सगन्ध इव सामन्तो वसन्तस्तमसेवत ॥ ११ ॥
उदारे समये तस्मिन् हृद्यैरुद्यानगोचरैः ।
विहारैः सह रामाभिः स रेमे बहुविभ्रमैः ॥ १२ ॥
दैत्यराज्यमिवादीप्तशुचिशुक्रविरोचनम् ।
निदाघमनुभूयासौ जगाहे सरसीजलम् ॥ १३ ॥

1. बन्धू. क.
2. दद्रु. क.
3. द्ये. ग.
4. लोज्ज्वलः । ग.

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